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a guide for teaching about

WOMEN IN HISTORY

II



A GUIDE FOR TEACHING ABOUT
WOMEN IN HISTORY II

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PREFACE

During the 1972-73 and the 1973-74 school years, an experimental course "Women in History" was piloted and evaluated in San Diego City Schools. In the spring of 1974, this course was adopted by the Board of Education as a regular alternative social studies course to be offered in Grades 10 and 12 along with the other social studies alternative courses at these grades. During this same time period interest grew to incorporate greater emphasis on the historical position of women within American society. This interest was also reflected at the State level with the recent passage of two bills pertaining to this topic. Excerpts from these bills are presented below:

No textbook, or other instructional materials shall be adopted...which contains any matter reflecting adversely upon persons because of their race...sex...

(AB 2187)

Instruction in social sciences shall include the early history of California and a study of the role and contributions of American Negroes, American Indians, Mexicans, persons of Oriental extraction, and other ethnic groups, and the role and contributions of women, to the economic, political, and social development of California and the United States of America, with particular emphasis on portraying the roles of these groups in contemporary society.

(SB 1285, amends section
8553 of the *Education*
Code.)

This guide was designed to assist teachers of Women in History and to assist teachers of United States History to incorporate more content dealing with the role and contributions of women into their courses. The writers of this guide discovered that, in general, books available for classroom instruction are negligent in their treatment of the American woman. Therefore, this guide contains materials designed to be made into handouts for student use and/or transparencies. The guide also contains teacher background referenced information as well as suggested student activities. It is not required that all activities in a given unit be used as each is a self-contained activity to heighten the student's awareness of the role of women in United States history. Through this guide it is hoped that teachers can incorporate greater emphasis on the role and contributions of women into their courses.

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WOMEN IN REFORM MOVEMENTS



WOMEN IN REFORM MOVEMENTS

Background

The amelioration of human suffering has seldom been the main emphasis of historical investigation. It is therefore logical that U.S. history texts do not dwell on reform movements. The emphasis has been on political and military history--and on the roles played by men. If we were to approach history from a different frame of reference, that of the struggle to enable human beings to live in a more humane manner, the story of people would be vastly different. The fight to establish and maintain human dignity would be uppermost in importance. Some textbooks mention the reform movements in passing; others do not go into any detail. This unit is intended to illustrate that the roles played by women have brought about a more worthwhile existence for all of us. This knowledge is of equal if not more importance than the knowledge of the sequence of presidential administrations and many of the military and political events which took place during those time spans. The efforts of the valiant women presented in this unit have profoundly affected our lives on an institutional and personal basis. Due to time and space considerations many significant women will be mentioned only in passing.

Although the emphasis in this unit is upon the post Civil War era, a selection detailing the work of Dorothea Dix has been included. Her contributions to the correction of conditions in insane asylums and the establishment of more humane institutions is rarely chronicled adequately. Her participation in the Civil War will be taken up in the unit dealing with women and war.

Following the Civil War the United States embarked upon an industrial development never before seen or ever equaled in the recorded history of the world. American industries advertised all over Europe to induce people to come to the U.S. to provide labor needed for operation of numerous companies. Many of the immigrants who settled on western land were unable to succeed on the seemingly inhospitable soil. Immigrants from Europe and the farmlands flooded the cities to seek employment. Most of these people were uneducated and unprepared for urban life. Many of the immigrants had never experienced a life free from exploitation in their homelands. Political freedom was their dream, together with the hope of economic success. The first generations of these dreamers were manipulated and used by political machines. Many, however, lived to see their children and grandchildren rise from the inhumane conditions in which they were mired into the fulfillment of "the American dream."

American government during this period of mass immigration and industrialization of the United States followed a policy of noninterference in the lives of people. The people with political clout were not the mass of little people but rising industrialists. No one seemed concerned about the horrible conditions of life in which millions of people found themselves. Alcoholism became a way of life for men, women, and children as they sought to escape the realities of life in the slums. There were over a million industrial accidents in the U.S. in 1913 alone. Immigrant men frequented the saloons after endless hours at work, children roamed the streets if they were not occupied at sweated labor, and over 70 percent of the women in a large eastern city drank to the point of unconsciousness. Liquor helped bring on the numbness which made life endurable.

Life in the West was equally hard and difficult. Alcohol was the friend which helped men endure the rigors of freezing cold and blistering heat which led to failure of crops and homesteading efforts. The effects of liquor upon the men, women, and children of both the eastern cities and the western countryside led to the founding of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which fought to outlaw the preparing and selling of alcoholic beverages. Thousands of women spent years of their lives working to abolish the use of the "demon rum." This battle is detailed in the unit on suffrage but is important to note here. It was this effort also which brought many women out of the home and into the fray in the attempt to change conditions for millions of people.

The women we shall present in this unit recognized that conditions, not alcohol, were responsible for people's drinking to the point of insensibility. And it was these women who worked and devoted their lives to changing the conditions which precipitated the need for oblivion. Men, women, and children worked 12, 14, 16 hours a day, 6 or 7 days a week. Women, who were denied the vote because it would offend their delicate sensibilities to hear swear words in polling places, worked 12 hours a day in laundries, stripped to the waist in over 100-degree temperatures. Factory workers were subjected to machines which could and did amputate fingers, hands, and legs. People were invalided for life from breathing industrial fumes. Women who made matches composed of phosphorous had their jaws rot off after a period of time. There was no concept of sanitary conditions, whether in the factory or home sweatshop. Consumptives made cigarettes at home and licked them with their lips. Contagious diseases were passed on in the clothing manufactured by the piecework methods in home sweated conditions. Women died in childbirth or during pregnancy because their bodies could not withstand the rigors of slum existence and multiple pregnancies.

School was a luxury for over 60 percent of immigrant children, as their wages were needed to keep the family from starving. Child labor was considered no more wrong than employment of adults for as many hours a day as they could keep going. Children of migrant Polish and Italian families were not considered white and therefore unworthy of concern for schooling. People were accorded no more consideration than the machines which kept industries functioning. "I regard my workers as I do my machines," one industrialist was heard to say. "When they wear out, I replace them with new."

Immigrants and aliens of Eastern Europe were indeed looked down upon. Immigrants from other parts of the world had more particularized restrictions. Chinese laborers were called sojourners because the laws restricted them from bringing wives and children with them. Japanese wives were permitted to immigrate and share the difficult work lives of their husbands on western farms. Blacks and Mexican* in Texas were described by a journal devoted to charities working for social reforms in the following manner: "It is not only the Negro who is a separate class, but the Mexican--the Greaser--is to the ordinary inhabitant a being inferior."¹ The article describes the dwellings inhabited by them as miles and miles of huts built of dirt and twigs and rubbish with no sanitation. Many in the El Paso area lived in abandoned horse corrals. "Tuberculosis, both imported and domestic," hung like a cloud over the state of Texas.

¹ "Passage to Texas", *The Survey*, November 19, 1910, 285.

Into this world, alien from that which they experienced as they were growing up, came a group of remarkable women. Once they became aware of the conditions in the slums, factories, and mines, they took upon themselves the task of changing those conditions. The work of some of these women has been documented in our texts; some of it has not. One of the most remarkable is Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, who led strikes of miners, mill children, and mill women all over the country until she was over 90 years old. Many of the women gave up comfortable circumstances in order to live the lives of the people with whom they identified. Margaret Drier Robins, a wealthy woman who married a millionaire, settled in a cold water flat in Chicago and spent her life attempting to organize working women. Many of the things we take for granted today came as a result of the efforts of these women. The branch of work known as social service was originated by Jane Addams and Lillian Wald. Public health nursing was originated by Lillian Wald. Pasteurization of milk was not insisted upon until these women demanded that municipalities become responsible for it. Birth control was unknown in the United States until Margaret Sanger introduced it and fought for the right of women to control how many children they would have. The science of ecology was originated by a woman, Dr. Ellen Swallow, long unknown. The eight-hour day, child labor legislation, and protective laws for workers were the result of their activities. The role of Frances Perkins in bringing about the programs which we take for granted today has never been fully acknowledged. It is not known that she was the force behind Social Security, Old Age Assistance, child labor legislation, Aid to Dependent Children, and Aid to Blind and Disabled. She had been part of a group of men and women who had become interested in changing social conditions after witnessing the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, which took the lives of 123 women who had been barricaded into their sweatshop to prevent union organizers from talking to them. When asked by Franklin Roosevelt to take the position of Secretary of Labor, the first woman in a president's cabinet, she replied that she would do so only on the condition that this legislation be recommended to Congress. The years which she spent working with people in the slums and factories of New York had made her a determined reformer.

And so they all were. The women we present here, and the thousands who worked for the same or similar causes but who did not leave their names for history to record, had a dedication we find difficult to understand today. Some will say that it is women's nature to be concerned with these kinds of things, that they are socialized to deal with people and their needs. Jane Addams spoke of woman's "long historical role of ministrations to basic human needs." Whether it is socialization or nature is not important. What is important is that they saw the tremendous need of people who did not have the knowledge to help themselves--and they showed them how to do it. Surely they are as much heroes as generals who win battles--but lose lives. These women won battles against injustice, fear, ignorance, and human misery and won lives. Our lives cannot help but be affected by their efforts.

Objectives

1. Students will realize that women played the major roles in social reform throughout the U.S. in the 19th and 20th centuries by performing the activities outlined in this unit.

2. Students will develop awareness of oppressive conditions in areas of education, employment, health, and housing by reading the selected articles included.
3. Students will have the opportunity to express admiration for women who gave the major part of their lives to ameliorate oppressive conditions, by writing letters to textbook publishers demanding that full recognition be accorded women and that their contributions be emphasized in new texts.

ACTIVITY I. CONDITIONS LEADING TO ESTABLISHMENT OF
SETTLEMENT HOUSES

- A. Divide class into groups of four students. Have each student read one of the following four articles. The teacher asks the group to isolate problems described in the articles and identify ways of dealing with them. The teacher should explain that at this time in our history there were no governmental agencies set up to deal with social problems. In fact, people in power resisted the idea of government interference.
- B. Have students read the following articles:
 1. "Alien Colonies and the Children's Court" (page 12)
 2. "Put Responsibility on the Right Shoulders" (page 14)
 3. "National Fight on Baby Killers" (page 16)
 4. Excerpt from *Ladies Home Journal* by Jane Addams (page 17)
- C. Have student groups report to class at large, writing solutions on the board.
 1. Teacher will then distribute the articles below to the class. Students should read them and then participate in discussion. The teacher will lead discussion that describes the number and variety of activities surrounding the settlement house movement. Add those activities to the list on the board.
 - a. "The Hull House of Jane Addams" (page 19)
 - b. Biography of Lillian Wald (page 21)
 2. Discuss the devotion of the women engaged in settlement houses. Why would people give up a comfortable way of life to devote their time and energy to other people's problems? What was their motivation?

ACTIVITY II. WORKING CONDITIONS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

- A. Divide class into groups of six students.
- B. Have students read the following articles:
 - 1. "'The Woman Who Toils' in America" (page 23)
 - 2. "Bullying the Woman-Worker" (page 24)
 - 3. "When a Woman's Workroom Burns" (page 31)
- C. Have two students from each group read one of the first three articles listed. The teacher asks the group to identify the problems addressed in the articles and to devise ways of dealing with the inhuman labor conditions. The teacher may need to remind the students that "forming a labor union" would not be a sufficient answer. Unions such as the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor already had been formed.
- D. When each group has had sufficient time to devise solutions, each group should report to the class at large. Each suggestion should be listed on the board.
- E. The teacher will then have students read "National Women's Trade Union League" and "A League of Working Women." The teacher will subsequently lead a discussion dealing with (see pages 36-39):
 - 1. Why was it necessary to form separate unions for women when unions were already in existence?
 - 2. What circumstances were unique to the unionization of women workers?
 - 3. Why were women workers exploited more than men workers?
- F. Have students read the following articles, asking them to compare the reasons for the formation of the Women's Trade Union League with the reasons given for the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW):
 - 1. "Union Women Organizing Coalition" (page 40)
 - 2. "Rosie the Riveter Is Replaced" (page 41)

ACTIVITY III. CHILD LABOR

- A. Divide class into groups of four.
- B. Have students read:
 - 1. "Civilization in Southern Mills" (page 42)
 - 2. "Changes in New York Child Labor Laws" (page 43)
 - 3. "Old Country Mothers and American Daughters" (page 44)
 - 4. "New Child Labor Legislation in New York" (page 45)
 - 5. "The March of the Mill Children" (page 47)
- C. Instruct each group to read the articles and to identify the common problem which is inherent in each one. Next, direct each group to devise a solution to the problem.
- D. After sufficient time has elapsed, a reporter from each group should report group's solution. Write solutions on board.
- E. Have students read:
 - 1. "Florence Kelley" (page 51)
 - 2. "Child Labor Amendment?" (page 53)
 - 3. "A Necessary Safeguard" (page 57)
- F. Teacher will lead discussion on problem of child labor and child labor legislation. Discussion should include the following topics:
 - 1. Why child labor was used
 - 2. Why parents permitted and encouraged their children to work.
 - 3. Why children were not accorded special consideration due to their tender years
 - 4. Why child labor legislation was repeatedly declared unconstitutional
 - 5. Why the child labor amendment was never ratified by three-fourths of the states
 - 6. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and the restriction of child labor
- G. Debate topics
 - 1. Child labor can help end poverty because families then have more money to spend.
 - 2. Child labor leads to even greater poverty because children who work become uneducated adults with little hope for the future.

ACTIVITY IV. WOMAN AS A SEX OBJECT

- A. Have students read the articles listed below. Afterward have them capsule what "prostitution," "white slavery," and "marrying for economic reasons" meant to the four women.
- B. Articles
1. Article by Jane Addams in *The Survey* (page 50)
 2. "The Traffic in Women" by Emma Goldman (page 53)
 3. Letter to the editor of *The Survey* by Katherine Houghton Hepburn (page 66)
 4. "Who Is Guilty?" (page 67)
 5. "The Oldest Profession" (page 69)
- C. Have three people taking the roles of Jane Addams, Emma Goldman, and Katherine Houghton Hepburn create lively discussion, pointing out the moral views toward men and women regarding sexual expression and the economic conditions making prostitution seem a viable option for a poor woman.
- D. Create a presentation in the format of the Walter Cronkite television series "You Are There," with two anchorpersons in the present looking back at the three women, discussing their views as represented in the articles above. The present-day anchorpersons introduce the show with the information from articles 4 and 5 describing present status of prostitution laws and discriminatory enforcement. Have two anchorpersons converse halfway through about present moral views on sexuality and the legalization of prostitution. After 15 minutes or so the anchorpersons will sum up. Invite audience (rest of class) to articulate their views about the topics presented.

ACTIVITY V. INCLUDE US IN THE HISTORY BOOKS!

Instructions to Teacher

History books rarely include the contributions of women, and when they do very little is said. This activity is designed to have the students become aware of the diversified contributions of women in reform besides those dealt with in the preceding activities. This is a role-playing activity and should challenge students to be original in presentation of facts.

- A. Divide class into seven groups. You will need to use your discretion in determining the size of each group. This should be determined by possible number of roles in each reading.
- B. Have students read information on:
 1. Margaret Sanger (page 71)
 2. Mary McLeod Bethune (page 75)
 3. Ellen Swallow (page 77)
 4. Dorothea Dix (page 81)
 5. Mary Harris "Mother" Jones (page 87)
 6. Jane Addams (page 94)
 7. Frances Perkins (page 100)
- C. Instruct each group to develop a presentation describing the achievements of each woman. The rest of the class will act as a jury which will determine whether the woman should be included in history books and how much space given to her, as opposed to what already exists in their books.
- D. After presentations teacher should lead discussion touching on the following points:
 1. The different fields of endeavor women have either originated or affected
 2. Why they are not considered important enough to include in U.S. history books
 3. How our lives have been or could be affected by their work--for example, some of the longest-lasting aspects of the New Deal were originated or developed by Frances Perkins: unemployment insurance, Social Security, aid to dependent children, etc.

COLLATERAL READING I

(ACTIVITY I)

ALIEN COLONIES AND THE CHILDREN'S COURT.*

By Ernest K. Coulter, Deputy Clerk of New York's Children's Court.

There is probably no place where the social, physical and moral effects of the further congestion of our already overcrowded tenement districts, with the enormous and miscellaneous influx of aliens, is more immediately apparent than in New York's Children's Court. Here daily looms up, in a manner most startling, the menace of the congested immigrant colonies to our future citizenship. The army of children burglars, pickpockets and thieves, the multitude charged with less serious offences, the children without proper guardianship, come from these colonies. Practically all of the material brought into the Children's Court for remoulding is a gift from Europe. By the use of means in which there is a large measure of reason and humanity, the saving of the great majority of these children is being accomplished. But the burden that Europe is shifting to us through the steerage is daily becoming more onerous. The fact that there are thousands of children accused of crime to be dealt with is due almost altogether to the evil moral and physical conditions following the massing of immigrants in narrow districts. With the disintegration of the alien colonies in our great cities, and with the enactment of wiser immigration laws, the number of juvenile offenders would be so small that there would scarcely be need for Children's Courts. Simple, too, would be the problem of municipal charities.

In a single square mile, bounded on the west by the Bowery, on the east by Mangin Street, on the north by East Houston Street and on the south by Cherry Street, there is a Jewish population alone of 350,000.** There are 675,000 Jews in the city of New York, but the vast majority of the Jewish children who are arrested come from that square mile of congested humanity. So scarce is house room there that a dozen synagogues in that district are forced on the Jewish Sabbath to worship in the rear rooms of saloons, the clatter of the bars sounding in the ears of the congregations. Between 50,000 and 75,000 Jews live in the Borough of the Bronx, but rarely is a Jewish boy brought to the Children's Court from that Borough. The tenements in which they dwell there were built after laws had been enacted which prohibited the erection of rookeries such as are now the homes of nearly all of the population of the lower East Side. There is plenty of room in the Borough of the Bronx, and there children grow up in healthy freedom. Light and air are the most powerful enemies of crime.

The thirty dollars which the father has shown to the immigration inspectors, to enable him to get beyond Ellis Island, has frequently been borrowed from a fellow passenger, and is repaid before our new resident and prospective citizen has passed the gates of the Barge Office. The family goes into a miserable room in a tenement that is already crowded to suffocation with men, women and children. Until the father gets work, the family often subsists on the charity of relatives and friends. To many of these parents, the chief concern about their children is that they should help in the breadwinning, and the boys are let out as helpers to bootblacks whose stands are blocks away; or, as soon as they learn how to make change, they are sent to sell papers. Their new companions of the dark stairways and busy streets teach

* *North American Review*, CLXXIX (July-December 1904): 731-737.

** For this information the writer is indebted to Dr. David Blaustein, Superintendent of the Educational Alliance, under whose direction a religious census of that district has just been completed.

the new arrivals how to evade the truant officers. If the boy is placed in school, it is more than likely that, after hours, he is running wild with the "gang," which exists in practically every tenement block, and whose daring leader has had more or less experience with the police. The new recruit to the "gang" is taught at the onset that the "cop" is his worst enemy. His first actual criminal experience is when he is detailed "to lay cheese it"--that is, to stand picket while his companions pry the hasp off a basement door. The parents, handicapped, as they are, by ignorance of our language, customs and laws, do not realize the dangers to which their children are exposed.

The effects of the oppression and carefully fostered ignorance in the native country are at once apparent in the Russian immigrants on their arrival here. The Russian arrivals cling to the cities; and, crippled by poverty and ignorance, as they are, what place is there for them but the slum and sweat-shop districts?

The parents have lived so long in subjection that timidity and endless patience under hardship are second nature. Too often, too, on their arrival here, both father and mother, in the fierce struggle for existence, are breadwinners. They work early and late in the sweat-shops or in their miserable tenement rooms, while their children grow up in the streets. No matter how abject the condition of the father may have been in Russia, there, at least, he was czar in his own household. But here his children find a new freedom. They learn our language much more rapidly than their parents, quickly adapt themselves to the new surroundings, bad as they are, and soon outstrip their elders. They feel a superiority to their parents, and this often comes to amount almost to contempt. So engrossed, too, are the parents in their struggle to gather in a few dollars that they do not view this slipping away from their control with the same concern as formerly.

The resourcefulness of some of the parents in the Italian colonies is best illustrated, perhaps, by the experience of an examiner in the Bureau of Dependent Children, who was investigating a case of alleged destitution. A wretchedly-clad woman, with a seven-months-old child in her arms, called at the Bureau recently, with a story of poverty and a husband at home dying of consumption. Her husband had but one leg, and for many weeks before the consumption developed had been without work. The mother said that, if the Department of Charities would take the child, she would seek employment, and probably be able in a few days to give her husband such food as he required. The examiner hurried down into Oliver Street. He found the consumptive in a dingy room at the top of five flights of tenement stairs. The room had been stripped of everything save the bed in which the consumptive lay, its scanty covers, and a wooden leg underneath it. The woman who had accompanied the examiner told, with a flood of tears, how everything had been pawned; they were just about to send the leg to the shop around the corner. The man was barely able to make himself understood. He had lost his leg, he said, in a blasting accident; later, the consumption had developed. That he was in the last stages of the disease, there was no doubt.

COLLATERAL READING II

(ACTIVITY I)

PUT RESPONSIBILITY ON THE RIGHT SHOULDERS*

Lillian D. Wald
Henry Street, (The Nurses) Settlement, New York

Out of the discussion that recently centered about Mr. Straus's determination to close his milk stations in New York has come a great deal of education. Many people, for the first time, have become aware of the significance of clean milk for babies.

The subject of milk supply has been brought into the open, and a very much needed discussion of the question of the life and health of the babies of the poor in the city, has focused attention upon a basic principle--namely, the fixing of responsibility for infant mortality.

The budget appropriation of \$40,000 to the Department of Health (in excess of the regular appropriation) for the purpose of establishing fifteen infant milk depots, with equipment and machinery for distribution, nurses and physicians for instruction and supervision, is an important step, and at last begins to meet the question of where the responsibility belongs.

The city owes a great debt to the good people who have brought this question to the front, and there is now a conviction on the part of many that in the light of full knowledge, there is not justification in the willingness of the community as such to permit individuals to assume longer the responsibility for its infants' milk supply and logically, therefore, for its infant mortality.

The city has long since held its Department of Health responsible for providing clean water that its citizens may be guaranteed against typhoid and diseases traceable to an impure supply. Infant mortality, through diarrhoeal diseases, can be as definitely controlled by guaranteeing the milk supply, as typhoid fever mortality can be diminished or eliminated through pure drinking water.

In conjunction with the bureau of child hygiene of the Health Department, the distribution of milk in these stations can be perfected. Whether the milk sold in the municipal milk stations is provided by private individuals or business concerns, it must be supplemented by instruction and supervision in the homes and preferably by the city's representatives.

At one milk station in New York where the milk is known to be pure, one nurse took care of 240 babies under two years of age from January 1 to November 1, 1910, teaching the modification or the pasteurization in the homes according to the individual formula prescribed by the physician for each child. Once a week the mothers and babies have been in conference with the physicians at

* *The Survey*, XXV (October 10, 1911): 315-316.

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the settlement which has charge of this dispensary. Though those who received the milk were the undernourished, the underweight, and the marasmus infants, there were only two deaths from diarrhoeal diseases in ten months.

The city of New York will learn that it is less expensive to save the babies than to let them die. Such has been the experience in Rochester, at Copenhagen and the various communities in Europe and America which have carried out a responsible policy concerning their infants' milk supply.

COLLATERAL READING III

(ACTIVITY I)

NATIONAL FIGHT ON BABY KILLERS *

The country has rallied quickly and struck some telling blows in the fight against baby-killing drugs, following the first gun—the now famous report of Dr. Wiley of the Federal Department of Agriculture, on patent medicines, beverages and other preparations containing habit-forming drugs. The list, which was printed in *THE SURVEY* for June 18, exposed many “soothing syrups” and “teething powders,” and these were quickly made the objects of a special attack by many of the most influential newspapers in the country, which published them widely under the heading “Baby Killers”:

Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup (morphine sulphate).

Children's Comfort (morphine sulphate).

Dr. Fahey's Pepsin Anodyne Compound (morphine and sulphate).

Dr. Fahrney's Teething Syrup (morphine and chloroform).

Dr. Fowler's Strawberry and Peppermint Mixture (morphine).

Dr. Groves' Anodyne for Infants (morphine sulphate).

Hooper's Anodyne, the Infants' Friend (morphine hydrochlorid).

Jadway's Elixir for Infants (codein).

Dr. James' Soothing Syrup (heroin).

Koepp's Baby's Friend (morphine sulphate).

Dr. Miller's Anodyne for Babies (morphine sulphate and chloral hydrate).

Dr. Moffett's Teethina Teething Powders (powdered opium).

Victor Infant Relief (chloroform and cannabis indica).

In New York city, Health Commissioner Lederle is taking aggressive steps. The New York situation was strikingly brought out by an experience a New Jersey lawyer recently had in New York city. He had a druggist and his customer arrested for selling and buying morphine without a physician's prescription, only to find that New York had no law like that in New Jersey forbidding such un-

regulated sale. Since then the Board of Health has made a ruling forbidding the retail sale, except upon the prescription of a physician of morphine or the salt of morphine, cocaine or the salt of cocaine, either alone or in combination with other substances. The druggists at first were in some doubt as to whether soothing syrups, expectorants, consumption cures and other so-called remedies were included. Commissioner Lederle, however, has directed the strict enforcement of the amendment to the regulations, although a delay was requested until the arguments on the subject had been considered.

The health authorities intend to follow up this step by prosecuting unlicensed practitioners, who sell patent medicines. Mothers are to be taught that it is not necessary to administer drugs every time their babies cry. The city doctors and nurses explain how often the trouble is due to clothes that bind too tightly, to thirst, lack of sleep, or irregular feeding.

In Chicago the Civic Federation has conducted a systematic campaign of educational publicity on the subject. Posters blossomed forth in bright colors on walls and fences, articles were contributed to the foreign press of Chicago, the Health Department supplied much material in its weekly bulletin. Besides the co-operation of the clergy, nurses and field workers of the United Charities, and the social settlements the park boards aided by displaying posters and distributing cards to the mothers themselves.

The campaign against the nostrums must include positive educational work to be effective. Mothers are taught the value of clean milk, cool boiled water, and general cleanliness, as a part of the usual summer work for babies in many cities. City authorities all over the country have been quick to use in their health activities the ammunition against soothing syrups, supplied by the national government.

* *The Survey*, XXV (October 1, 1910): 3-5.

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COLLATERAL READING IV

(ACTIVITY I)

Excerpt from
Ladies Home Journal
by Jane Addams*

For many generations it has been believed that woman's place is within the walls of her own home, and it is indeed impossible to imagine the time when her duty there shall be ended or to forecast any social change which shall release her from that paramount obligation.

This paper is an attempt to show that many women today are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. One could illustrate in many ways. A woman's simplest duty, one would say, is to keep her house clean and wholesome and to feed her children properly. Yet if she lives in a tenement house, as so many of my neighbors do, she cannot fulfill these simple obligations by her own efforts because she is utterly dependent upon the city administration for the conditions which render decent living possible. Her basement will not be dry, her stairways will not be fireproof, her house will not be provided with sufficient windows to give light and air, nor will it be equipped with sanitary plumbing, unless the Public Works Department sends inspectors who constantly insist that these elementary decencies be provided. Women who live in the country sweep their own dooryards and may either feed the refuse of the table to a flock of chickens or allow it innocently to decay in the open air and sunshine. In a crowded city quarter, however, if the street is not cleaned by the city authorities no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed a tenement-house mother may see her children sicken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. She cannot even secure untainted meat for her household, she cannot provide fresh fruit, unless the meat has been inspected by city officials, and the decayed fruit, which is so often placed upon sale in the tenement districts, has been destroyed in the interests of public health. In short, if woman would keep on with her old business of caring for her house and rearing her children she will have to have some conscience in regard to public affairs lying quite outside of her immediate household. The individual conscience and devotion are no longer effective.

One of the Interesting Experiences in the Chicago campaign for inducing the members of the Charter Convention to recommend municipal franchise for women in the provisions of the new charter was the unexpected enthusiasm and help which came from large groups of foreign-born women. The Scandinavian women represented in many Lutheran Church societies said quite simply that in the old country they had had the municipal franchise upon the same basis as men

* XXVII (January 19, 1910): 21.

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since the seventeenth century; all the women formerly living under the British Government, in England, Australia or Canada, pointed out that Chicago women were asking now for what the British women had long had. But the most unexpected response came from the foreign colonies in which women had never heard such problems discussed and took the prospect of the municipal ballot as a simple device--which it is--to aid them in their daily struggle with adverse city conditions. The Italian women said that the men engaged in railroad construction were away all summer and did not know anything about their household difficulties. Some of them came to Hull-House one day to talk over the possibility of a public wash-house. They do not like to wash in their own tenements; they have never seen a washing-tub until they came to America, and find it very difficult to use it in the restricted space of their little kitchens and to hang the clothes within the house to dry. They say that in the Italian villages the women all go to the streams together; in the town they go to the public wash-house; and washing, instead of being lonely and disagreeable, is made pleasant by cheerful conversation. It is asking a great deal of these women to change suddenly all their habits of living, and their contention that the tenement-house kitchen is too small for laundry-work is well taken. If women in Chicago knew the needs of the Italian colony they would realize that any change bringing cleanliness and fresh clothing into the Italian household would be a very sensible and hygienic measure. It is, perhaps, asking a great deal that the members of the City Council should understand this, but surely a comprehension of the needs of these women and efforts toward ameliorating their lot might be regarded as matters of municipal obligation on the part of voting women.

The same thing is true of the Jewish women in their desire for covered markets which have always been a municipal provision of Russia and Poland. The vegetables piled high upon the wagons standing in the open markets of Chicago become covered with dust and soot. It seems to these women a violation of the most rudimentary decencies and they sometimes say quite simply: "If women had anything to say about it they would change all that."

COLLATERAL READING V

(ACTIVITY I)

THE HULL HOUSE OF JANE ADDAMS *

EDITH ABBOTT

MISS ADDAMS was the daughter of pioneers and was born in a pioneer state, for Illinois was still a pioneer state at that period. Coming to Chicago more than sixty years ago, she brought with her the spirit of the pioneers and established the first American social settlement in one of the neglected river wards on the West Side of this city. She had been interested in an English settlement, Toynbee Hall, which she had seen in the East End of London, and she looked about to find a place where an American settlement might be started in Chicago. With Toynbee Hall in mind, Miss Addams had been looking for a house which she thought should be "easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit and situated in the midst of an immigrant neighborhood." She found the old home of the Hull family, at that time a very dilapidated house in a very dilapidated area on the West Side of Chicago.

In this center she brought together the two women who were to be her great associates, Julia Lathrop and Florence Kelley. Working from this center, they established the first juvenile court in the world, the first kindergarten for Chicago, the first day nursery, and the first evening classes and vacation classes; they worked for shorter hours and the abolition of night work for women; they got an eight-hour law only to have it declared unconstitutional. They worked for a good child labor law in Illinois and they prepared an early report to the Illinois legislature on the sweating system. They not only took children off the streets and out of the factories; they took them out of the jails and prisons.

The early settlement, Miss Addams thought, was "an expression of the sense of humanity—not philanthropy nor benevolence but something fuller and wider than either."

"The Settlement," she said, "is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life."

Miss Addams was an early supporter of housing reform and helped to found the City Homes Association and helped to publish in 1902 the book called *Tenement Conditions in Chicago*. Street cleaning and garbage collection were other reforms for which she worked.

Like the other early settlements, Hull House in those days had classes for immigrants everywhere, in every room. Everywhere there were non-English-speaking immigrants who were eager to learn to speak and read English. Even in my own earlier Hull House days, twenty years after Miss Addams began to work there, we were often hurried through dinner because a class or a club was always waiting to use the dining-room.

The residents worked hard in those early settlements, and Miss Addams tells us how they "learned during the dreadful winter following the Chicago World's Fair that when all else fails and private funds are exhausted the county can always be called on to care for the poor." Julia Lathrop long before spring became a volunteer visitor in the county agent's office and was assigned for duty to the ten blocks surrounding Hull House. Day by day, Miss Addams says, she climbed rickety stairs and visited damp basements, for tenement-house regulations at that time were practically nonexistent.

Mrs. Kelley had come to Chicago in 1891 and had at once joined Miss Addams' group and became a resident of Hull House, where she lived during the eight years she spent in this state. Miss Addams and Mrs. Kelley worked together wonderfully.

Mrs. Kelley, with her assistant and staff, worked courageously and ably in enforcing the Illinois statute restricting the work of women and girls in manufacture to the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week, but the statute was short-lived. In 1895 the Supreme Court of Illinois declared the law unconstitutional.

* *Social Service Review*, XXVI
(September 1952): 334-338.

Miss Addams tells us about an old neighbor who after a "visit outside" had persistently refused to go back to the poorhouse but who returned at once when she heard that Julia Lathrop was expected to visit the county institution. She explained that she would have gone before if it had been known that Miss Lathrop was coming to "investigate," for, of course, she would give orders for more blankets; "she's not the kind to leave the poor to freeze."

Also in 1892 Governor Altgeld appointed Julia Lathrop a member of the State Board of Charities. She rendered distinguished service from 1893 to 1909, with an interim of four years, a service which was, in the words of Dr. Graham Taylor, "without compensation other than the heart's own reward for duty well done and opportunity well met." She visited every one of the 102 county farms or almshouses, discussing conditions with their superintendents and ameliorating for the inmates at best she might the evil effects which unjust suffering always produces.

Miss Addams wrote of her in those years when she was visiting poorhouses throughout the state and was trying to establish a farm for epileptic cases and more intelligent care for the insane. Miss Addams quoted a friend who once wrote graphically of Miss Lathrop:

One likes to think of her going the rounds of those dreary places, talking to the inmates and uncovering intolerable conditions which had always been taken for granted just because no one made it his business to do anything about them. One likes to think of the revelation she must have been to some of the stodgy officials who shuddered at the idea of any change. One wonders, for instance, what they thought of her when to test out a newfangled fire escape in an institution harboring helpless women and girls, she tucked her skirts around her ankles and slid down from an upper floor, to see if the thing really would work and not to scare to death the fleeing inmates.

(ACTIVITY I)

LILLIAN WALD (March 10, 1867–September 1, 1940) was born in Cincinnati, Ohio. Her parents had come to the United States from Poland and Germany. She became a public health nurse, settlement leader, and social reformer. In 1893 she organized nursing classes for immigrant families on the Lower East Side.

One morning that March she was called from her classroom to tend a sick woman in a crumbling tenement house. This experience, Lillian Wald's baptism of fire, impelled her to leave medical school and take up what proved to be a lifework as a public health nurse. With a friend, Mary Brewster, she moved to the East Side, at first to temporary quarters at the College Settlement and then, in September, to the top floor of a tenement house on Jefferson Street. The two young women resolved "to live in the neighborhood as nurses, identify ourselves with it socially, and . . . contribute to it our citizenship." Mrs. Solomon Loeb and her son-in-law, the banker and philanthropist Jacob H. Schiff, provided financial backing. The tenement apartment soon proved too small, and in 1895, through Schiff's generosity, Miss Wald was able to establish the "Nurses' Settlement" in a permanent home at 265 Henry Street. Soon eleven residents were living at the new house, nine of them trained nurses, including Lavinia L. Dock (d. 1956), later a leader in the nursing profession. By 1913 the Henry Street Visiting Nurses Service comprised ninety-two nurses, organized into specialized staffs, who were making 200,000 visits annually from the East Side headquarters and from branches in upper Manhattan and the Bronx. In addition to home care, they maintained first aid stations and convalescent facilities and made follow-up calls on patients released from hospitals.

The Henry Street idea spread rapidly, similar programs were set up across the country, and a new profession, public health nursing, was born. At its heart lay Miss Wald's conviction that many persons not ill enough to require hospitalization, but whose circumstances were such that they might otherwise receive no medical attention, were in need of home care. She had early determined that the service should be fully professional and independent of religious or official ties, and that fees should be charged "on terms most considerate of the dignity and independence of the patient." Many extensions of public health nursing were also pioneered by Miss Wald. In 1902 she offered a Henry Street nurse, Lina L. Rogers, for a month-long demonstration which induced the New York City Board of Health to establish the first public school nursing program in the United States. At her suggestion a nursing program for industrial policyholders was begun by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. She was a prime mover in the establishment, in 1910, of a department of nursing and health at Teachers College of Columbia University, under the chairmanship of MARY ADELAIDE

NUTTING. Two years later the American Red Cross, again at her initiative, set up a program which grew into the Town and Country Nursing Service. Recognized as the founder and leading spirit in the movement, Miss Wald was in 1912 chosen the first president of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, a professional association in whose creation she played a leading part.

Lillian Wald's influence was felt in the social settlement movement no less than in nursing. She had moved to the East Side in 1893 without knowing of JANE ADDAMS' pioneering work in Chicago, but Henry Street very quickly outgrew its exclusively medical orientation to take on the attributes of a full-scale settlement house. Indeed, as early as the depression winter of 1893–94, when she served on a committee organized by JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL, founder of New York's Charity Organization Society, to provide work relief for the unemployed, Miss Wald had learned that to help the urban poor, with their complex social, economic, and physical needs, required planning and organization no less than a loving heart. Soon the Nurses' Settlement had become the Henry Street Settlement, a neighborhood center for civic, educational, social, and philanthropic work. By 1913 it occupied seven houses on Henry Street and two uptown branches. The unique combination of nursing and general settlement activities assured a close integration into neighborhood life and made Henry Street a powerful force for community betterment and reform. Special attention was given to vocational guidance and training, and a system of scholarships permitting talented boys and girls to remain in school until sixteen was set up. Miss Wald took a leading role in civic campaigns to eradicate tuberculosis, improve housing, and establish more parks and playgrounds. She supported and encouraged the pioneering work of Elizabeth Farrell, a Henry Street resident, in the development of ungraded public school classes for retarded children.

Miss Wald, who never married, was particularly touched by the needs of children, and moved to the forefront of the child welfare movement. In 1904 she, together with FLORENCE KELLEY (director of the National Consumers' League and a Henry Street resident from 1899 to 1924) and others, founded the National Child Labor Committee, an outgrowth of a similar state committee established two years earlier. For many years, as a member of both the state and national committees, she worked for legislation outlawing child labor. A suggestion first made by Miss Wald to President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905 bore fruit

seven years later in the establishment of the federal Children's Bureau, with JULIA LATHROP as its chief. "It was an awakening for me to realize that when I was working in the interests of those babies . . . I was really in politics," Miss Wald later recalled (Duffus, pp. 81-82).

Despite a growing involvement in public affairs, she held fast to her purpose of closely identifying herself with those among whom she lived. Characteristically, the twentieth anniversary celebration of Henry Street Settlement featured a pageant honoring past and present inhabitants of the street. To Jacob Riis it symbolized the rebirth of "the whole crowded, suffering, once-forgotten East Side." Miss Wald genuinely loved her neighborhood, and was enthusiastic over "the really lovely things that go on down here." Fortunately—since Henry Street was dependent entirely on voluntary contributions and, even after a successful endowment campaign in 1913, was always in need of money—she was able to communicate this enthusiasm, and hence was a gifted fund raiser. "It costs five thousand dollars to sit next to her at dinner," one friend observed. Her winning appearance also aided these efforts. A newspaper reporter once described her as tall and well-proportioned with an "oval face crowned by dark wavy hair simply parted over a smooth, broad brow; eyes so large and brown and soft that they seem to look at you almost timidly" (quoted in *ibid.*, p. 89).

At the outbreak of the First World War, Miss Wald was forty-seven years old. Like many social workers, she looked upon war as a "hideous wrong," a complete negation of her ideals of social progress and human brotherhood. For a time she hoped that neutral nations might end the conflict by mediation, and as president of the American Union against Militarism, which with Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and others she had helped to organize in 1914, she sought by letter and petition to win the Wilson administration to this view. When the United States entered the conflict, Miss Wald turned her attention to wartime encroachments on civil liberties. She also served as head of the committee on home nursing of the Council of National Defense, while her Henry Street nurses, whose roster more than doubled between 1913 and 1918, rendered invaluable service in caring for sick children and victims of pneumonia and influenza. As chairman of the Nurses' Emergency Council during the influenza epidemic of 1918, Miss Wald directed recruitment of volunteer nurses and coordinated the efforts of public and private nursing agencies. She had never worked

harder and, as she wrote to a friend, she had never felt better.

After the war Miss Wald was a founder of the League of Free Nations Association, an outgrowth of the American Union against Militarism and forerunner of the Foreign Policy Association. Henry Street remained her major interest, however, as its program expanded to serve a changing East Side. A Neighborhood Playhouse, given by Alice and IRENE LEVISOHN in 1915, became in the 1920's a leading experimental theatre, while a music school, incorporated in 1927, rounded out the settlement's cultural activities. The Visiting Nurses Service grew apace, and by 1929 over 250 nurses were taking part. On the national level, Miss Wald continued, despite the less favorable postwar climate, to work for child welfare legislation. Her personal political preferences were determined by her social concerns. At times the decision was perplexing. In 1912 she deplored Woodrow Wilson's temporizing on woman suffrage but at length supported the Democratic ticket as offering the best prospects for reform. In 1928 she backed Alfred E. Smith, feeling that his sympathetic interest in social welfare outweighed his hostility to prohibition, which she firmly favored. She experienced no such turmoil over the candidacies of Franklin D. Roosevelt, however. She had close ties with Mrs. Roosevelt and Frances Perkins, and Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Henry W. Morgenthau, Jr., Sidney Hillman, and other New Dealers were former residents of Henry Street Settlement. In 1936 she was co-chairman of the Good Neighbor League, which rallied independent voters for the Democratic ticket. Warned that her political activity might alienate potential contributors to Henry Street, she replied: "I have been myself all these years and I have not seen that being myself injured or affected the settlement."*

* E. T. and J. W. James (eds.), *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. III (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 526-529.

'THE WOMAN WHO TOILS' IN AMERICA*

[Labour in South Carolina, according to Miss von Vorst, is a white slavery around which the Southern negro makes a sad, gloomy background. Let us take one mill, the Excelsior, where Miss von Vorst began her work. It possesses 104,000 spindles, representing a capital of 1,730,000 dollars, and employs from 1,200 to 3,000 workers. It is built on a tract of arid sand; behind it is the settlement, the mill village where the workers live. 'Plague,' says Miss von Vorst, 'is not too strong a word to apply to the pest-ridden, epidemic-filled, and filthy settlement where the mill hand lives, moves, and has his being, horrible honeycomb of lives, shocking morals and decency.' The mill hands are not drawn from the countryside, but are imported from afar by travellers who hold out extravagant inducements. They are therefore strangers to each other for the most part, and are absolutely separated from the dwellers in the town, who look upon them as *scum*. The condition of the mills is insanitary, and all the workers suffer from the particles of cotton in the air. They all take snuff, even the youngest children; 'their mouths are brown with it, their teeth black.' They suffer from lung disease (consumption) and pneumonia, which last becomes almost an epidemic. The spoolers live in a better atmosphere, freer from cotton particles; but the air is kept unwholesomely damp on account of the yarn, and many of them suffer from heart disease. Over all is the demon malaria, which claims its tribute of victims, a very Minotaur on a gigantic scale. There seems to be no effort to mitigate the dangers of the mill on the part of the employers, or to provide proper ventilation and fans. The heat is, of course, most trying. Men, women, and children, little children of five and six, they crowd into the mills to get through their daily task as best they may, and fling themselves, in their clothes, down on their comfortless, sheetless beds, till Excelsior summons them to another day of toil. Horrible is Miss von Vorst's account of the man on a horse who rides round each day to hound the laggards from their beds and compel them to come in, when from indisposition or fatigue they had taken a day off. Horrible too is her description of the little children, unwashed, clad in dirty rags, no change of clothes winter or summer, who are driven into the mills for their thirteen hours

of daily toil, so weary that they fall asleep the moment there is a temporary cessation of work. They have no childhood, no schooling, no play, but grow old in precocious knowledge of the sin and misery of the world. She tells of one lad of fourteen, 'poor white trash,' who works from 5.45 A.M. to 6.45 P.M., with three-quarters of an hour for dinner at noon. He boards with a number of men, from whom he gets little friendliness; he earns fifty cents a day, has not a relation or friend in the world, no education, no means of getting any, has lost one arm, is worn to a skeleton, old-looking and ill. He says of his pay, 'It keeps me in existence.' He is a type—a lad who has never known a day of happiness or decent comfort, who has no hope.

The houses of the settlement are ill-built shanties run up without regard to decency, comfort, or sanitation. The drinking-water from which you blow the thick scum ere you drink, breeds fever; the refuse of the place is piled between the houses, in the middle of the street; a horrible stench pervades the district; no flowers will grow in the heat and the dust. There are no schools for the children, and if there were, there are no children that are free in the day to go to them; there are no places of rest or recreation, and the worker who rises at 4 A.M. and works till long after dark in the winter, long into the evening in summer, has no vitality left to do more than swallow the coarse meal prepared for him, and fling his aching bones upon his rough couch. The cases of sickness are many, deaths are many also, and there are no statistics kept of births, marriages, or deaths in this State. What wonder that the woman mill hand is brutalised—'her face becomes unique, a fearful type'! Those who are good-looking when they go into the mill are persecuted by the overseers. Marriage is a farce; love is a dream; the home does not exist; there is no time to care for the children, who are exploited by their parents. Life in the cotton mills, we repeat, is a white slavery. The wonder is, says Miss von Vorst, that there is so much kindness among the workers, and that a few ideals are still preserved. They love flowers and long for them; they love music, but never hear any, though sometimes they will subscribe to buy a 100-dollar organ, which they have neither leisure nor skill to play. On Sundays the shanties are full of sleepers, men and women too weary to rise. There is a dreary park to which they go on occasions, and sometimes the girls will go to a rough dance; or a fight between the 'hands,' form their most available distractions. The work is so engrossing, so enervating, so soul-destroying, that very few have courage or energy left to break away and begin afresh.

* Ethel B. Harrison, *The Nineteenth Century*, CCCXXII (December 1903): 1022-1024.

BULLYING THE WOMAN-WORKER*

HOW FEMALE LABOR IN THE SHOPS AND FACTORIES IS OBTAINED BY MEANS OF RUTHLESS OPPRESSION AND VIOLATION OF THE LAW ON THE PART OF UNSCRUPULOUS EMPLOYERS

By RHETTA CHILDE DORR

At half-past three o'clock on a winter morning, a year ago, two young women hurried through dark streets in the neighborhood of Brooklyn Bridge--streets deserted save for night prowlers and an occasional policeman who looked suspiciously after the girls as they passed. At that hour few cars were running, and the young women walked the entire distance across town to the Hoboken ferry. They were just in time to catch the four o'clock boat. Hoboken was reached five minutes after a car had left the ferry, and the belated passengers knew that they must wait an hour and a half for the next one. That is the way the street-car service "serves" in Hoboken. After ten minutes past one the cars run at intervals of an hour and a half. The girls sat down to wait in the ferry-house, but not for long. The man in charge leaned out of his window and gruffly ordered them to move on. "This ain't no place for all-night loafin'," he bawled.

"But we have to wait for the car," cried the girls in dismay.

"Can't help that," returned the man. "Ain't nobody allowed to sit in here after midnight."

The women fled from the place and stood outside in the cold of the early morning. They dared not walk the mile that lay between them and home. Across the street a hallway offered shelter, and there they sat and waited in silent terror until a car finally came. It was just dawn when they reached their home.

Am I writing a melodrama? Not at all. I am relating a commonplace incident in the lives of respectable working women in New York city. But women don't work until three o'clock in the morning, you say. The State law prohibits any woman working after nine o'clock at night. So indeed it does. Nevertheless, women *do* work after nine o'clock at night, not one or two here and there, but thousands and thousands of them, in many industries. They work until ten and eleven o'clock in most of the department stores, not only during the Christmas season, when the law is suspended, but all through January, February, and into March. I worked in a department store myself once, and the head of my department told me when he hired me that I should have to look forward to working from eight o'clock in the morning until ten at night, from December 15 until the middle of March. Should I receive overtime pay? No, but the firm would

* *Harper's Weekly*, LI (March 23, 1907): 458-459, 473.

give me my supper. My wages were eight dollars a week, and the head of this firm, who is a great philanthropist, would not ask a girl to buy her supper out of eight dollars a week. He only forces her to give him four hours' work after supper.

The auditing and accounts departments of the great stores are out of sight, and the Consumers' League and other agencies which have done so much to ameliorate the hard lives of the saleswomen and cash children, know not much of conditions there. Shops high up on the "White List" are just as hardened offenders against the labor law, so far as night work of women is concerned, as the shops which are under the ban.

In the busy season of millinery and dressmaking nobody knows how many girls are obliged to toil until midnight and after, often until two o'clock in the morning, that fashionable women may have their finery on the moment. Talk about sweatshops! Some of the dressmaking establishments in the Fifth Avenue district are so much worse than the average sweatshop, in their heartless and cynical attitude towards their slaves of the needle, that comparisons are unfair. It is a common thing for girls to be kept at work for eighteen hours, with three-quarters of an hour off for the noon meal and a cup of tea and bread and butter handed around for supper. Few, if any, dressmakers pay their girls for overtime. The girls work far into the night to finish rush orders, and are laid off for a day or two to recover. They are not paid anything for the days when they do not work, of course. How could they expect it?

Down-town in the big factories it is more difficult to keep people working at night. Once an inspector did find a group of women in a box-factory after midnight, but it was explained to him that they were not there to work. They were having a tea party. The inspector was quite satisfied with the explanation. However, if the factories must close at nine o'clock, it is not difficult to induce the workers to take home bundles of hats to prepare for trimming, neckties to finish, garments to sew on until early dawn. It is not difficult, because the workers know they must consent or lose their jobs. The rush season in any trade, especially in the sewing trades, is the workers' harvest time, and if they are not busy then, they face starvation the rest of the year.

Just now it is the rush season in the millinery trade. The millinery trade that I refer to has nothing to do with those beautiful hats that adorn rich ladies on Fifth Avenue. This is another kind of millinery, in which models are turned out by the thousands for the medium and low priced trade. Most of the hats are the so-called "ready to wear" affairs, very simple in design, little trimmed and usually cheap in material. It requires small skill to handle these hats. Most of the women in the trade are known as preparers. They do what little the machines have left them to do in the way of making the hats, lining their brims, and getting them ready for the trimmers. They do everything, in fact, except put on the bow or the quill or the flower which decorates the hat.

Millinery is supposed to be a very "genteel" trade, and the workers imagine that they are on a pretty high social level when they make hats. It sounds better to say "I am a milliner," than to admit, "I work in a box factory." For this, and one or two other good reasons, the trade is overcrowded, and

even in the rush season about fifteen per cent of the workers fail to find steady employment. It is a condition of things which the manufacturers are not slow to take advantage of. The girls are exploited in every possible way. Wages are low, and are being constantly forced lower. It is customary to take in many learners each season, rather than to employ girls who already know the trade. The learner, you see, signs a contract to work from two to four weeks for nothing, and the rest of the season for from \$1 to \$1.50 a week. Sometimes the boss finds an excuse for turning off these girls after they have worked for nothing while learning. He can then take on a new set of girls who want to be milliners. As a girl of average intelligence masters her task in about a week, the boss gets a great deal of his work done by learners, and it doesn't cost him a dollar.

Such a state of affairs in a trade makes it quite easy for the manufacturers, even the best of them, to force the workers to take work home after the shop closes. And they do it. Women are timid, they are weak, they are unorganized; they think they are not in industry to stay, anyhow, so what is the use of complaining? They accept conditions as they find them, and cheerfully waste the flame of their lives for a pittance. This is what the manufacturers mean when they say they employ women because women are more easily handled than men.

Go down to the corner of Grand Street and the Bowery any evening in February or March, watch that amazing procession of women and children pouring out of the factories, hurrying to their homes after a day of toil. Note that many of them carry bundles under their arms. Ask them what they carry.

The factories are not the only places from which girls are forced to take work to be completed before they can seek their beds. A girl friend of mine pointed to a picture of a famous actress in one of her most popular characters. "That gown," said the girl, "was finished in my kitchen at three o'clock in the morning. My sister brought it home from _____'s," naming a palatial store in whose dressmaking department many stage wardrobes are made.

It is the book-binderies, rather than the shops and factories, that are the worst offenders in the matter of night work for women. A month or two ago a big firm down-town was actually advertising in the daily papers for girls to work from eight o'clock at night until four in the morning. Until very recently two well-known magazines (one of them a celebrated "muckraker") had a system in their binderies by which, two weeks in the month, the girls worked seventy-eight hours a week, the other two weeks being slack. Sixty hours is the legal week. One night, and sometimes two, some of the girls worked all night. A representative of the Consumers' League went to one of these magazines and labored with the millionaire owner. He admitted that he broke the law, but he added that in his opinion the law was a nuisance, and that he sometimes thought of having it declared unconstitutional. However, he disliked lawsuits and preferred that some one else should bring the test case. He agreed to change the system in his bindery until the law was made over to suit him.

I know a girl who is employed in a bindery in the West Thirties. She works at the wiring machine. There is only one wiring machine in the shop, and it happens that in the middle of the week there is a great deal of wiring to be done, in order to get a magazine ready for the next process. So this girl works all day

Wednesday, all Wednesday night, and until ten o'clock Thursday morning. She sleeps all day Thursday and goes back to work Friday morning. She does this every week.

I know another girl who, until lately, worked every Friday twenty-four hours at a stretch. She spoke of it frankly to me, and regretted that she was not strong enough to continue the long hours. Both of these girls belong to the union, and they receive the usual time and a half allowance for their extra hours of work. They are not *forced* to work at night, the foreman will tell you. Are they not? Even under union conditions the average skilled woman in the binding trades makes little more than \$8 a week. The men in the binderies average \$15, but they have so hypnotized the women that the men are able to monopolize all the highly skilled parts of the trade, leaving the simpler operations to the women. No woman is allowed to go higher than the sewing together of the sheets. The girls at the sewing machines make from \$7 to \$8 a week. The work requires intelligence and a fair amount of skill, and if it were a "man's job" it would command twice the wages. However, the women accept the half loaf as better than no bread at all. When a chance offers to double her wages by working a night or two in the week, is it any wonder that an energetic girl jumps at it? Most of the binders agreed, when we talked it over, that it wasn't so bad, if they only wouldn't ask you to leave the shop before daylight. That was the worst, the going home in the dark, when the cars and ferries are running at such wide intervals, and such terrible people are hanging around the streets. One girl said that in her shop they let the night shift lie down on the floor and sleep until six o'clock. Her foreman was too kind-hearted to turn a girl out. Another said she used to wait for daylight in an all-night restaurant on the corner.

Accidents? Oh yes, accidents do happen sometimes, when a girl gets too tired and sleepy to be careful. Usually they manage to keep their wits about them, but not always. Catherine used to work as a paster, and as she was a very quick worker she made as much as \$12 a week. Big wages for a woman. But Catherine wasn't satisfied with that. She was bright and ambitious, and when the boss offered her \$25 a week to work at the cover machine all night she was delighted. Twenty-five dollars a week is a princely income to a working girl. It opens up possibilities of dazzling luxury to the entire household, for few girls have only themselves to provide for. So Catherine went to work at the cover machine, all night long feeding magazines to a great hungry steel and iron mouth. One night she was unusually weary. Perhaps she had not slept enough during the day. Even working girls like to have a good time, and sometimes they are so foolish as to sacrifice their sleeping hours to pleasure. Of course no one defends such nonsense. A working girl should *work*. On this particular night the girl at the cover machine was tired and sleepy. The covers didn't run smoothly between the jaws of the monster. Several times they got all wrinkled up and ruined. So, when the very last cover she ever fed it began to wrinkle she forgot caution and retained her hold on it a fraction of a second too long. The great jaws snapped at her hand. She shrieked--and shrieked. They stopped the machine, but not before the jaws had devoured her arm just below the shoulder.

What became of her? Oh, she stayed in the hospital quite a while, and the shop got up an entertainment for her, and made \$1000. She bought a cork arm, which makes her look all right, and the firm took her back and gave her a job as copyholder at \$7 a week. The other copyholders get \$8 a week, but the boss said

she was lucky to get any job at all, with only one arm.

Did the firm do anything for her while she was in the hospital? Well, they bought some tickets for the entertainment. Of course they were not responsible for the accident. The girl was working at night voluntarily, and was getting well paid for it. She knew the machine was dangerous. Anyhow, she couldn't sue the firm, because she was breaking the law just as much as they were.

There are people whose minds are so logical that they cannot see why if women will get into the trades they should expect the trades to adapt themselves to feminine necessities. If a trade needs people to work at night why should not the women as well as the men do the night tasks? I can think of several answers to that. I can think of two or three ways in which the night itself menaces women as it does not menace men. Only the other day the press despatches from Lincoln, Nebraska, told a horrible story about a girl of fifteen being assaulted on her way home from her night-work in a telephone exchange. Every once in a while the working world hears tales of girls running for more than their lives to reach the shelter of their doors. No, not down on the East Side among the foreign population. East Side streets are as safe as your drawing-room. Most of the girls live in Jersey City, Hoboken, Brooklyn, or far up in Harlem, where rents are comparatively cheap. It is hard on the parents of these girls when they don't get home until late.

I was thinking of Jeanne. Jeanne was a young French girl, one of a prosperous Jewish family, where it was never intended that the daughters should work. The father had a little cigar store down on lower Broadway, and all the children went to school. The Trust noticed the little store one day, and naturally ate it up. They gave the father a job, but the salary was small, and the two eldest girls had to find work. Jeanne got a job in the auditing department of a big store and worked until almost any hour of the night. When she stayed out after ten the father used to go down to the corner where she got out of the car and wait for her. One December night he waited there in a furious storm, waited a long time. Jeanne was very late that night, and all the way up in the car her little heart was devoured with anguish, for she thought of her father standing there in the snow. When she found him he was speechless with cold, and when they got home he lay down on his bed exhausted and ill. He died about ten days later.

There are lots of girls who wouldn't dream of entering the back door of a saloon in the daytime, but on the way home in the dark hours, when there are few to see and none at all to care, and you are aching with cold and weariness--I know the whole thing from experience. I have felt that gaunt exhaustion, so different from the weariness that follows a day of work. Now the backroom of a saloon is not exactly a good place for a man, but it is a much worse place for a girl. You see, after all, the night has its own special aspect for women.

All this time I have been talking, not about a few exceptional cases, culled here and there from among thousands of workers, but about things as they are with them all. A little over a year ago Commissioner-of-Labor Sherman gave it as his opinion that there were between 5000 and 10,000 employers in New York city alone who were openly violating the sixty-hour law. In his report dated January 3, 1906, Mr. Sherman says: "The provision prohibiting night work is openly violated, especially in the employment of women over twenty-one, and the

department has feared to test this particular prohibition because it is so closely joined with the prohibition of male and female minors, that in case of an adverse decision both prohibitions might be held to fall together." In this report is a record of prosecutions during the year 1905 for illegal employment of women and minors after 9 P.M. Here it is:

Total number of cases	2
Acquitted or discharged	1
Convicted, sentence suspended	1
Convicted and fined	

Total number of cases known to exist, between 5000 and 10,000.

Perhaps you would like to hear more of the case "convicted and sentence suspended." The report of that particular bindery as it went to the Department of Labor is as follows:

"They work overtime all the year round. They begin work at eight o'clock in the morning. They do not stop work until eleven or twelve o'clock at night. On Saturday they work until 9:30. They have a half-hour for lunch and a half-hour for supper. They work overtime four days in the week--stopping at five thirty two days. They would be discharged if they refused to work overtime. They are going to work next Friday until 4 A.M."

In the spring of 1906 it was decided to test the law. Two cases of all-night employment of women in book binderies were brought before the Court of Special Sessions. The employers were convicted, but they promptly appealed, on the ground that the law was unconstitutional. The case of *The People vs. Williams and O'Rourke* came up before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court the day after election. It was to have been heard in October, and arrangement for a public session with oral arguments were made by the Women's Trade Union League, the Consumer's League, and other organizations. Those interested waited from day to day, anxiously expecting to be notified that the case was ready to be heard. The most extraordinary reticence was maintained about the whole affair, and one November day it was announced that the case had been decided without oral arguments, without the presence of the attorney-general, without even the presence of a representative from the attorney-general's office. Briefs were submitted on both sides. It is somewhat significant that the verdict was a divided one, two of the judges dissenting. If oral arguments had been heard it seems altogether possible that the decision might have been a different one.

The attorney-general was appealed to, to take the case to the highest court, and after some hesitation he decided to do so. *The People vs. Williams and O'Rourke* is to have just one more chance, in the Court of Appeals, where it will be decided quite definitely whether women and girls shall be forced to work all night. That is what it amounts to, for if the learned judges hold that they may work all night it is perfectly certain that they will have to.

It is not alone the women of New York State who are concerned in this decision. In Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and half a dozen other manufacturing States agitation for better protective laws for women workers is very active at the present time. It is stated on exceedingly good authority that eight States are waiting to hear whether it is safe for such laws to be passed. If it is not safe, if the highest court in the largest manufacturing State in the Union

declares that it is unconstitutional even to protect women and girls from actual physical danger, what is the use of any legislation in behalf of women workers? What is the use of Pennsylvania forbidding their employment in coal mines; Illinois, Nebraska, and Missouri in the slaughter pens of the packing houses? Eleven years ago Illinois set the example of declaring the prohibition of night-work for women unconstitutional. One of the results of that action was that certain New York corporations established branch factories in Illinois that they might force more women to work at night than the local manufacturers needed. Just as New England capital has gone into Georgia and South Carolina that it may take advantage of child labor. If the People lose their case *vs. Williams and O'Rourke*, Massachusetts, Indiana, Nebraska, and New Jersey will remain the only States where women are protected against night work. How long will they keep their protective laws? Seven States in the Union have no laws at all for the protection of women workers, and at least seven more have only laws forbidding women to tend bar or to work in mines. What hope is there for the women of these States?

WHEN A WOMEN'S WORKROOM BURNS *

MARY BROWN SUMNER

It was just before nine-thirty on the morning of November 26 that the first alarm of fire was turned in from the four-story factory building at Orange and High streets, Newark. Sixteen minutes later a third alarm was turned in, and by that time sixteen girls and women had leaped from the fourth story to their death and three hospitals were filling with the dying and the injured. When later search was made in the burned building nine more were added to the list of dead, making a total of twenty-five.

These dead and injured were young women, few over twenty-five years of age; all employes of the Wolf Underwear Company on the fourth floor. Altogether the garment workers in their loft the morning of the fire numbered 110. At 8, and at 9, and 9:15 they were wrapped up in the whirl of ninety power sewing machines, or engaged in sloping, lace running, trimming and other operations in the making of "white goods." Upon them, without their will or power to forfend, came the catastrophe. We think of a fire as a blazing structure; it may be the sharing of a few bursting minutes with a hundred companions followed perhaps by weeks of agony, and slow months or years of incapacity and dependence. They were of various nationalities, these young women; perhaps a third were Americans, then a group of Germans and German

Jews, one not much smaller of Italians, a half dozen Polish needle workers and a few Irish. Most of them had been with the firm for several years, for in pay and treatment the Wolf Company had won for itself the white label of the Consumers' League. A score of others made up a group by themselves, of a sort which in its self-revelation of the ties

which bind working women to each other, must quicken the pulses of those who have felt the glow of fraternity in common labor. They had come in a body at the beginning of the busy season from another firm that had recently failed. They had worked side by side for years, and one of their number had brought them together to apply at Wolf's, so that the group of friends should not be broken up. On November 26 the group was broken past all recall.



ANNA HAAG.

The forewoman who might have escaped by the stairs if she had not gone back to direct her girls to safety and put the company's books in the safe.

The girls were for the most part experienced workers from whom more than the average self-reliance could be anticipated in an emergency. The fire experts tell us that if there had been no delays, such as an organized factory fire drill might have prevented, the casualties which followed need not have taken place. They tell us, also, that if there had been adequate exits, or fireproof construction, such delays as occurred need not have been fatal. These safeguards did not exist, and in their absence, a series of petty delays ate up the

* *The Survey*, XXV (October 1910-March 1911): 558-562.

precious margin which lay between the steady whir of the power machines and that ghastly quarter hour which snuffed out a life a minute, and left charred bodies to be picked up in the ruins, and maimed ones to be picked up from the sidewalk and the picket fence outside.

The fire originated not in Wolf's, but in the Anchor Light Company on the third floor, from a short circuit which ignited a bottle of gasoline. The first few moments slipped out of reach while the foreman there tried to put the fire out. Then the flame leaped to the ceiling, spread out, he said, "like a stream from a cannon," and in the room above one of the girls tells of a thin tongue of fire which she noticed shoot up through a scuttle door. Others saw smoke at the windows, and still others remember hearing a commotion downstairs and commenting on it to an expressman who was just entering the freight elevator to descend. A minute was lost because they did not realize what was the matter, and the elevator went down with but the one occupant. The next instant the foreman from the third floor pounded on the door at the foot of the stairs, which locked with a Yale catch and could be opened only from the inside by the forewoman. Again a precious minute was lost before she heard and opened the door and hooked it back, and the fearful consequences of that degrading, but not uncommon, practice of locking factory girls in at their work was in that minute demonstrated. The forewoman ordered the girls to scatter to the exits. A few slipped out by the stairs, the last of these having to jump to clear the burning lower steps. Others, and not a few, in response to a first impulse to save their belongings, went for hats and coats, and came back to find the stairs gone. This was the last of the series of petty delays. About seventy girls crushed down the fire escapes at one end of the building, where after a struggle a strong woman managed to adjust the heavy lower ladder. The other end of the building was without balconies or ladders. The girls there crowded out on the window ledges. They did not seem to feel ordinary fear:

height had no terrors, only the flames behind and below and all around them. One girl describes how she leaned far out of the narrow old-fashioned window, the sash resting heavily on her back, until she caught sight of the net below. She struggled from under the sash and next felt hands upon her as someone dragged her out of the net. Like many others, she suffered afterwards in nervous collapse for the terror she did not feel at the time. Other women hung on window ledges till their muscles failed and they dropped; others jumped hand in hand into the nets which broke with their combined weight and killed them. Still others jumped from windows where there were no nets, only to be killed or maimed. To this group belongs the heroine of the fire, Anna Haag, the forewoman, who might have escaped by the stairs had she not gone back to direct the girls; and then, before making her own escape, stopped to put the company's books into the safe.

A week later a canvass of the girls on Wolf's payroll showed twenty-five dead and sixteen in the hospital of whom two may die, seven will be invalids for years, and the rest for months until broken bones and other obscurer injuries harder to deal with are healed. In their homes sixteen others were found who will be in bed for months suffering from fractures, displacements, contusions or shattered nerves. Putting aside for the moment the subtler miseries, let us consider the more easily calculable material loss in the death or injury of these fifty-seven needle workers. In that propertyless class where the lack of a wage-earner means destitution, daughters and sons are brought up to go to work early to assist prematurely aging parents in the support of the household. "I want my girl back again," said one mother, "not battered and broken as she is, but strong and healthy as she was, to work for me." She loved her daughter, but inextricably mingled with her love was the material need that she had of her.

The girls in the Wolf workrooms gave no small addition to the family income, for in Newark pay is, if anything, rather higher than in New York. Many of the

conditions of their work were above the average. The hours were from 7.30 to 5.50 with one hour for lunch, making a little over nine hours' work. There was no night work, and Saturday was a half holiday; so the season lasted about ten months with less than two months' half time and only two weeks' unpaid holiday. The ninety operators at power machines earned from eight to fourteen dollars a week—one girl even as much as eighteen. The twenty other workers were employed, either on piece work as slopers, ribbon and lace runners, earning a little less than the operators; or as week workers, trimmers, examiners, and workers at the button and button-hole machines earning from five dollars and a half to nine dollars according to length of experience. Nine dollars probably fairly approximates their average wage. In almost all the homes the standard of living was enough higher than among the same grade of workers in New York to make the expenditures proportional. The households of the Americans took more account of appearance; but in only a few was there any lack of cleanliness or necessities. Comforts were most apparent in large families of working sons and daughters.

Unlike similar workers in New York, who often seem alone and adrift, these girls had with few exceptions a background, not only in their immediate family, but of more distant relatives, established associations and social life. The funerals showed throngs of young cousins and close family friends.

Of the twenty-five women who were killed six left behind relatives who had been wholly dependent upon them. Of these dead bread-winners three were widows who left children, and in two cases an old mother also, without support; one deserted wife left three children, and two girls left old parents. Of the thirty-two who were injured one, probably crippled for life, was the main support of her father and mother, and two others were wives who worked to eke out the earnings of husbands, whose unskilled labor brought insufficient wages to meet the needs of a houseful of children.

Seven of the dead and eight of the

injured were childless wives or single women without dependents.

A large group, eleven of the dead and twenty-two of the injured, were working daughters in working families. In but three of these homes were there evidences of poverty. Two were Polish households and the third the household of a German widow living in a basement with a grown son and a daughter. The latter is a consumptive whose disease has been aggravated by exposure and shock at the time of the accident, for she was one of those who had to jump from the window. Two of the dead left a brother or sister as the sole support of a widowed mother. The greater number had father, mother and large families of brothers and sisters, some small and some working. Several of the fathers were small shopkeepers. One of these had one girl killed and two injured, leaving two grown sisters and one child in the family unhurt; another lost three grown children out of a family of eight. In all the families, the fathers were passing middle age, and all had gradually readjusted their standard of living as sons and daughters grew up and went to work. In such homes when all are working, the needs and comforts of all can easily be met; when one worker is withdrawn—even leaving out of account the expenses of sickness or burial—the family standard of living is affected. In one case a working son and daughter had made it possible for the overburdened mother of seven children to take in a half-grown girl to help her with the housework. Now one of her wage-earners is returned to her with two broken hips—an invalid perhaps for life.

This crippling of families piles up the economic cost of the fire. There can as yet be no exact estimate of the loss to the workers' families. For the dead it would include funeral expenses and the hole made by their death in the family income; for the injured, the wage loss, and the cost of their care, even were we to bar out any reckoning of that agony of mind which impairs earning power and which is always reckoned high in damage suits. A wage-earner's loss is not offset by that credit which often

enables a business man to re-establish himself after a catastrophe. Many of the girls had industrial insurance, but it was limited in most cases to burial benefits. The Newark *Star* has raised a fund of \$20,000 to which the Wolf Company contributed \$500. When it is remembered that the first year's wage-loss of the killed wage-earners will amount to over \$10,000, it can be realized how insufficient such a sum is to make good their loss. Nor can such funds, with the elements of gratitude on the one hand, and a favor conferred on the other, be the ultimate solution of cases like this, where injury was sustained by those who had no control over the mechanism of the fire trap in which they were caught.

In the last New Jersey Legislature a bill was introduced which was a step toward establishing responsibility, and not merely proved negligence, as a basis for employers' liability. It failed of passage, but an Employers' Liability Commission was appointed, and there is hope that this year statutes will be introduced establishing automatic compensation at least, as in the New York laws of 1910, in some trades.

The program which expressed the majority views at the recent conference of one federal and nine state commissions in Chicago,¹ affords a test of how adequately such a compensation plan would insure such a working force as that in the fourth floor of the Newark factory, were it to cover fire as well as machinery hazards. To the girls injured would be given medical expenses and half their earnings for life or until recovery. In all cases, then, a cripple would have to bear at least fifty per cent of income loss. For the dead, the plan would allow medical and burial expenses, and to the families of five of those who left dependents, from twenty-five to fifty per cent of their earnings, according to the number of dependents, for a period not to exceed 300 weeks; after that they must shift for themselves. To the family of the widow whose picture is given, who left behind in Austria an old mother and three little children, one a cripple, to whom she sent regular remittances, no

¹See THE SURVEY, Dec. 1, 1910.

compensation whatever would be given, since non-resident families of aliens are excluded from the plan.² Few, if any of the working families, the weekly pay envelopes of whose daughters rounded out their household income, would be adjudged "partial dependents" and therefore eligible to any compensation for wage loss. Thus even under compensation a good share of the actual financial loss would still remain with the family bearing the whole spiritual burden.

Limited as it would be, however, such automatic compensation would provide more adequately than a charitable fund of \$20,000 can, and more important still, by making the human loss a fire risk to the employer, it would accelerate the work of fire protection in the crowded "omnibus" city factories, where hundreds of thousands of working girls are now in constant danger. Without this economic motive, as things stand today, this human fire risk is not an ever present consideration with the majority of factory managers. They at the most feel that they have met their responsibility in obeying the minimum which laws that are anachronisms demand. Fire protection is not a thing which unorganized working girls can secure for themselves; or if they could, it is not likely that they would take the lead in doing so. None of the girls injured and few of their families realize that they are paying the penalty for the criminal sins of omission of the community as a whole. By the majority, the calamity is looked upon as the "will of God." "I have much to be thankful for," said one mother who had one daughter killed and two injured; "my two girls will be well in a few weeks, and my dead daughter's face was not marred as she lay in her coffin."

But this uncomplaining acceptance of what has happened does not mean lack of suffering. The whole tale of the Newark fire is not told when its economic effects are reckoned. Two weeks after the accident only about half of the girls who escaped uninjured were working, though work was offered by more than one New-

²The English and German systems do not make this unjust discrimination nor does the New York law of 1910.

ark firm. An explanation lies in the fact that most of them have suffered from nervous shock. They can talk of nothing but the fire. The tears stealing unheeded down their cheeks as they tell the story, their apathy, their night-terrors mean in many cases impairment of earning power. At the very best, these girls have learned early that those dreads and imageries of death, which physicians tell their patients are but unnatural fears of imaginary dangers, are facts in life. In them the seeds are sown of that chronic nervous prostration which clinics find so hard to cope with among working people, in great part because it is based upon the real facts of the patients' lives. For in some lives nothing is more morbid than the events of life itself, and realities cannot be reasoned away even by the kindest of physicians.

If the nervous cost to these girls cannot be estimated, still less can the spiritual cost to the families of the dead and injured. One father was recovering from illness when the news was brought him that his daughter was terribly hurt. They are both now lying at the point of death in the same hospital. Two girls who were to be married soon will probably be cripples for life; and as the brother of one, in bitterness of spirit stated the crude and brutal truth,—"What does a young man want of a woman like that?" Families of little children are deprived of a mother, or their mother is returned to

them from her work an invalid for months or years; childless husbands are widowed; old women robbed of all they loved best. Parents are left with a crippled daughter to care for, and sisters and brothers deprived of a companion, not by natural death, but by a nightmare. As one Italian boy expressed it: "I can't get it into my head that it happened to my own sister." But this was no nightmare; it was in the day's work. How truly work may dominate life and death is shown in another family. The girl's mother, an incurable invalid, had lost her husband by a work-accident four years ago; and now in this fire her daughter, her support, followed him through the factory door to the grave. Perhaps a great industrial catastrophe gives us in this way a glimpse of what lies behind the idealization of death by the poor, who make it typify the life of human happiness that they feel their lost ones should have lived, were their world not so sadly marred by toil and terror. In the home of one victim is shown her photograph, a strong

and handsome girl of sixteen lying on her white coffin, which opens out like a bed, and wearing the veil and wreath of a bride. This is the ideal; her real life of work, begun the moment childhood ended, is put in the background. But the sign of those stern realities which were her life and death remained in the two small wounds on cheek and temple.



ONE OF THE VICTIMS.

An Austrian widow whose death has left her mother and three young children destitute.

National Woman's Trade Union League *

By Jane A. Stewart

THAT women workers can deal intelligently and effectively with their employers and work together for their own betterment and progress is declared to be fully proven by the latest and newest of women's national societies—the National Woman's Trade Union League.

The exigencies of industry called it into being and the alleged necessity for a union of the women who toil keep it moving onward. All working women are eligible to membership; and its ranks are recruited from every phase of industry in which women through stress of social and industrial development have been engaged. It is only a few years since a group of thoughtful women who are not wage-earners, but who have declared themselves unwilling that those who toil should suffer from unjust conditions, associated themselves with the avowed object of easing the burdens of the toilers, and of protecting the coming generation from the crushing pressure of unreasonably long hours, miserably low wages, and other adverse conditions of industry. They had come to believe that much of the women workers' disadvantage is due to lack of organization, to the workers' ignorance of the fact that they are gradually becoming a menace to the whole working class; and to the fact that the women are without the protection of the ballot and are not yet the equal of men under the law.

Acting from these premises, the association of women resolved to reach the hearts and minds of the toilers in the factories, the stores and offices.

"Women have been slower than men," they said, "to realize the need of collective action. Unfortunately they have been the underbidders in the labor market. The individual worker must take herself seriously and recognize herself as a conscious part of the great labor movement."

National Woman's Trade Union League

The idea took shape gradually. When the convention of the American Federation of Labor met in Boston in 1903, the National League of Woman's Trade Unions was formally perfected. Working state branches of the League followed in Illinois, at Chicago, in 1904; in New York City in 1905; and in St. Louis in 1907. In all of these state branches membership in the League is extended to a limited number of deeply interested women concerned in social and philanthropic movements, but the number of

working women who may belong is unlimited. The scattered groups of women workers were thus brought into effective cohesion, and coöperation. The unions of women who are allied include overall makers, milliners, buttonhole makers, several departments of garment makers, bookbinders and many others.

The objects of the National Woman's Trade Union League are six: The organization of all workers into trades unions; equal pay for equal work; eight hour day; a minimum wage scale; full citizenship for women; and all the principles embodied in the economic program of the American Federation of Labor. In the interest of the public health and morals it is regarded as indispensable that women be organized for the protection of their hours of work, their wages, the treatment accorded them in the workroom, and their influence upon the conditions of industry as purchasers of the products.

Until 1907, the United States was the only nation on earth in which any court had held that the hours of work of women cannot be limited by statute. This curious pronouncement came from the Supreme Court of Illinois, which in 1895 declared unconstitutional the statute restricting the hours of work to eight in one day and to forty-eight in one week. The court invoked the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, holding that women are citizens in the sense that their freedom of contract cannot be interfered with, although in Illinois their political rights as citizens go no further than the power to vote, once in four years, for trustees of the State University of Illinois.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding the Oregon statute which limited the hours of work for women heralded the dawn of the better day; and completely offset the Illinois decree. [In April of this year the Illinois Supreme Court reversed itself by upholding a new 10-hours law.]

That women are frequently required to work all night in a wide variety of occupations, and far into the night in others, is deemed as the strongest possible reason for the formation of women's unions. Combined with this is the problem of underpay, and the two have been the paramount impulses in bringing women into mutual benefit unions.

The story of what the unions are accomplishing through the League would fill a volume. In the first place the women

* *The Chautauquan*, LIX (June-August 1910): 116-120.

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are learning the essential lessons of organization. The various Leagues have been developed to meet the local needs and requirements. In Chicago, for example, the League has six standing committees—finance, legislative, investigation, immigration, benefit, label, and district; and six special committees—program, entertainment, library, music, and outing. The legislative committee leads the work for better laws, among them the limitation of women's work to eight hours. The benefit committee conducts an extensive and varied relief work among members, ill and needy. The district committee aims to form district centers of the League in order to get in close touch with local members, and bring new ones into the ranks through public meetings. The library committee has in charge the reading and reference library in Room 501, 275 Lasalle street, the League's headquarters. The latest and most significant effort is that of the new immigration department (based on the knowledge that the immigrant girl is likely to be the most exploited among workers), which receives the names of girl arrivals from Ellis Island in advance and helps them to work under fair conditions and proper environment. In the first six months nearly one thousand five hundred names were received and about one-third of these were not located although every effort was made to find them. Two investigators, familiar with many languages, are employed by the League in this service.

The New York League, which now numbers about two hundred and fifty representative members, has an "auxiliary committee" which has inaugurated a systematic movement by the trade unions to make the union label necessary to employers as a means of selling their goods, the new "Label Council of the Women's Auxiliaries of Greater New York" being the outcome. The Italian committee gives special attention to the formation of unions among the Italian women. The educational committee conducts classes of foreign-speaking girls, especially Russian and Italian, for the purpose of teaching them English and lessons in co-operation through unions.

In their unions the working women are learning lessons of immense value to themselves and to the community, and learning also by doing. Self-respect and self-protection are being exercised. The newly developed group spirit is manifested. While in the course of events there is a changing membership (for most young women workers find, at least, change of occupation in marriage) the spirit remains and falls as a mantle upon the oncoming workers. The women in the unions are showing breadth of view and foresight. In one case where the women workers in one of the garment trades were given preference over the men, the wise and able leaders, instead of making the mistake of letting things go as they were, foresaw the danger that the men would later become underbidders. They averted it, putting the whole industry on a stable basis of remuneration, by uniting the men's and women's unions, thus forming the highest and most desirable type of trade union—that of both men and women.

The workers are showing, too, a greater desire to learn more of each other. The League's membership embraces

as many as a dozen nationalities who have hitherto kept aloof from each other. Brought into the company of other races, the women give evidence of comradeship of a high order, of the real democratic spirit, and of forensic powers.

The annual national inter-state conventions of the National Woman's Trade Union League are scenes of great interest, bringing to the forum working women whose latent abilities as organizers and speakers have burst spontaneously into activity and bloom under the sunny influence of coöperative endeavor. These gatherings are held for obvious reasons simultaneously, in the large centers of the movement.

This significant National Woman's Trade Union League calls for wide recognition as a product of women's organized endeavor. Although in its infancy, it has national headquarters at Chicago, an efficient office secretary and a national executive board of women widely known in welfare work. Mrs. Raymond Robins of Chicago is president, and among the leaders are Professor Emily Greene Balch of Wellesley College, Mass.; Miss Mary E. McDowell, Chicago University Settlement; Jane Addams, Hull House; and the presidents of local women's trade union leagues in Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Philadelphia.

COLLATERAL READING XI

(ACTIVITY II)

A League of Working Women *

SALES girls in New York department stores get on the average five and a half dollars a week, and they live where this budget permits them to live. It is not in houses as commodious as those proposed for munitions workers. If they try by organizing to secure the power of collective bargaining paid spies carry their names to the employers and they are summarily discharged. These girls are neither the best nor the worst example one could choose. They are merely an average instance of the millions of women workers whom the war affects chiefly by making it still more impossible for them to live decently on their scanty wages. They can not all go into munitions factories, or take men's places for the duration of the war. "Business as Usual" must go on; or it will go on at any rate.

It is therefore time to remember that an organization exists which concerns itself no less about standards for the women of peace industries than about standards for women in war industries, an organization based on the worker's right to represent herself. That is the National Women's Trade Union League.

People unfamiliar with the labor movement, also some who are familiar with it, do not always understand the nature of the League and the need for it. The nature is easily explained by quoting from its constitution. It is: "To protect the

women wage earners of America from an inadequate wage and extreme work hours; to insure them a voice in the adjustment of industrial conditions by establishing self-government in the workshop through trade-union organization; to create a public opinion which really understands the labor movement; to further the enactment of such legislation as will benefit the workers." It is a federation of trade unions with women members and of non-unionists who endorse the program of the League, a policy like that of the English labor party.

Some people ask why an organization of working women should be distinguished from the American Federation of Labor, especially since the League exists primarily for the purpose of organizing women into A. F. of L. unions. Are the interests of men and women workers not identical, they ask, and shouldn't they be represented by the same body? The answer is that perhaps they should but as a matter of fact they aren't. The history of trade unionism among women shows that the A. F. of L. has taken only a tepid interest in the organization of women, and that it has not allowed those who were unionized due representation on the governing bodies.

This is not charging the leaders of the A. F. of L. with any special wickedness. It is only charging

* *The New Republic*, XIV: 43-44.

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them with being men, average men, who, although they can think far enough to recognize the independence of labor, are still traditional males when it comes to the independence of women. If they have ridiculously few women organizers, it is because they have really not accepted woman as a permanent factor in industry. If no woman was asked to attend the council of unions called by Mr. Gompers at the beginning of the war, it is because some labor men are not unlike some other men in that they think a man can represent a woman economically as well as politically.

It is a repetition on a different scale of the fight for equal suffrage. The A. F. of L. is now beginning to see that the way to deal with the competition of cheap woman labor is not to keep the women out of the unions but on the contrary to get them organized as quickly as possible. It will take longer to make the A. F. of L. see that women are entitled to represent themselves. They can not learn to be good unionists if they have only half a vote doled out to them, which is what happened to the telephone girls of Boston who organized well enough to become members of the Electrical Workers Union; nor if they are shunted off into "ladies auxiliaries" (word reminiscent of Sunday-school picnics) without any voting power at all.

These reasons are alone sufficient to prove the great need for working women to represent their interests through the Women's Trade Union League. There are other reasons, however, which would hold good even if the last A. F. of L. man became a convinced feminist; and the chief of them is that though the interests of the working man and woman are indeed the same their problems will continue different, if not eternally different, at least until some way is discovered by which a woman can manage a job and a family at the same time. Woman as a sex is in industry to stay, that is certain; but it is almost equally certain that woman as an individual has other plans for herself. Whether she is aware of it or not, she is likely to consider the store or factory as a sort of profitable half-way-house where she will spend a few years en route for the final haven of marriage. She may never reach that haven or she may be sorry when she does, but generally speaking women in industry are a transient population, eventually shifting back to the home. What they forget, and what union men forget who make this an argument against unionizing women, is that for one woman who marries two stand ready to step into her job, ready to suffer if conditions are unimproved and ready to undercut the wages of union men.

If women as individuals are not permanent in industry the way a man is, there is all the more need for an organization especially fitted to deal

with their side of the labor problem, and devoted to carrying the standards and traditions from one set of organized women wage-earners to the next. This bond of unity is the Women's Trade Union League. An analogy to its work is found in the college world. Here the population is even more shifting than women in industry and yet each class hands to the next the same traditions; the freshman class remains the freshman class, in spite of a yearly change of all its members. So, in the industrial world, if one generation of wage-earning women are organized, they will instruct the incoming workers and what has been won will not be lost. But there is danger of loss unless the body of standards is guarded and added to by an organization making this its special task, and studying the woman's side of the industrial problem.

It doesn't mean that women ought to secede into their own little shell of a labor organization, hostilely distinct from that of the men. Such is farthest from the ideal of the Women's Trade Union League. Cooperation, not secession, is its aim. Under the fine leadership of the president, Mrs. Raymond Robbins of Chicago, this ideal is becoming realized. Mrs. Robbins personifies the best in the women's trade union movement. She bends all her energy and sympathy and understanding to the task of making women workers see that for better conditions in peace or war they must join the country's great labor organization; and she has the stamina to say to conservative A. F. of L. leader that it is not enough for them to welcome women only as the addition of "a sympathetic tone to the labor movement."

The Women's Trade Union League is at present being of great assistance to the government in helping to solve the problem of women in war industries. But of even greater and more ultimate importance is the fact that it recognizes this work as only a part of what it has done and will do for women in the industries of peace.



Tribune Photo by James Mays

Addie Wyatt, of the American Meat Cutters and Butchers, addresses Coalition of Labor Union Women meeting yesterday.

Union women organizing coalition

By Alan Merridew

NEARLY 2,000 working women, from late teen-agers to matronly women with blue rinse hair tints, packed the meeting hall in the Pick-Congress Hotel yesterday for the opening of the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The women, from more than

50 unions and 40 states, are members of existing unions. Some unions paid for their representatives at the convention, but many women had to pay their own way.

The purpose of the conference is to devise ways to bring equal rights to millions of women workers who up to now, according to spokesman Yetta Reisel of the Newspaper Guild of Washington,

have been discriminated against because of their sex.

THE COALITION hopes to unify women workers into an organization that would develop action programs. Miss Reisel said the aim is to work within the framework of existing unions and to have the unions work harder for women's equality.

Miss Reisel said that just over 4 million of the 34 million women in the work force be-

long to unions and that the union members enjoy higher wages, better fringe benefits and job security.

She said employers "profit by dividing workers on sexual and racial lines" and said women are relatively more disadvantaged today than 10 years ago.

THE MEDIAN earnings of women in 1970 represented only 59.4 per cent of men's earnings compared with 63.9

per cent in 1960, she said. The average fully employed woman high school graduate makes less than the average fully employed man who has not completed elementary school, Miss Reisel stated.

Women, she said, are locked into "low dead-end jobs."

"That stupid commercial—'You've come a long way, baby' . . . is a lie!" according to coalition literature circulating among the delegates yesterday.

(ACTIVITY II)

COLLATERAL READING XII

Chicago Tribune, Sunday, March 24, 1974, Section 1, p. 33

San Diego Union, September 11, 1974, p. B-7.

Rosie The Riveter Is Replaced

By JIM McVICAR
Labor Writer, The San Diego Union

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) aims to take over where Rosie the Riveter left off 30 years ago. Mrs. Estelle Ricketson, a San Diego leader of the new women's activist group in the trade union movement, says.

Rosie, as the over-30 crowd will remember, donned hard hat and overalls and built ships, planes and other weapons of war when the nation's able-bodied men marched off to battle in 1941.

"And reflecting back, the women who worked in the factories during World War II had better conditions than exist today for women," said Mrs. Ricketson, a teacher in the Poway School District and a member of California Federation of Teachers Local 2357.

"Those who use the cliché 'you've come a long way, baby,' are as far off base as they can be," she said. "Women may have come a long way — but much of the movement has been backward."

The CLUW movement, which began officially at a meeting in March in Chicago attended by 3,200 female members of labor unions, is a spinoff of women's liberation, Mrs. Ricketson said.

"However, although we may be just as avid in our demands as the most dedicated women's libber, we intend to work within the system of organized labor. The tools are there. They are as available to us as they are to the men."

In the past women were hesitant to use available techniques, she said. "They have been content to sit back and accept lower pay, discriminatory working conditions and second class union citizenship," she said.

Unions have been and management guilty in negotiating contracts in which women have received inferior treatment, she said.

CLUW has four major ambitions, according to Mrs. Ricketson:

- To organize into unions women who are not members.
- Promote affirmative action in the work place.
- Work for political action and legislation.
- Participate fully in the activities of the union movement.

"We have a lot going for us," she said. "First and foremost, the law is on our side. Then, there are more and more women coming into trade unions, enough to be able to wield more power than they are aware they can."

"And then we have the moral issue, the philosophy of equal opportunity for everyone."

Mrs. Ricketson said that CLUW should not be identified with any single union or organization. "We are not just AFL-CIO or Teamster or United Auto Workers or Longshoremen. We are all of labor and we don't care if the woman is affiliated with an AFL-CIO group or some independent association or union."

Men can join CLUW. "We don't want them discriminating against us, so why should we discriminate against them?" she said.

Mrs. Ricketson said some progress has been made.

One of the hardest nuts to crack, she said, is the construction industry, where the skilled tradesmen have been just that: men. "We haven't come to the point in construction where we can call a worker just a tradesperson," she said.

There are a few women forklift operators and truck drivers in the Teamsters Union, and a smattering of female carpenters and plumbers around the county, Mrs. Ricketson said.

Despite some heavy opposition, there are five rookie fire fighters at the San Diego Fire Department academy.

San Diego CLUW will hold its initial organizational meeting at 9:30 a.m. Sept. 14 in Machinists Hall, 3911 Pacific Hwy.

Mrs. Ricketson said that women interested in the Sept. 14 meeting may contact her at P.O. Box 3522, Hillcrest Station, San Diego 92103.

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Civilization in Southern Mills*

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THE miners and railroad boys of Birmingham, Ala., entertained me one evening some months ago with a graphic description of the conditions among the slaves of the Southern cotton mills. While I imagined that these must be something of a modern Siberia, I concluded that the boys were overdrawing the picture and made up my mind to see for myself the conditions described. Accordingly I got a job and mingled with the workers in the mill and in their homes. I found that children of six and seven years of age were dragged out of bed at half-past 4 in the morning when the task-master's whistle blew. They eat their scanty meal of black coffee and corn bread mixed with cottonseed oil in place of butter, and then off trots the whole army of serfs, big and little. By 5:30 they are all behind the factory walls, where amid the whirl of machinery they grind their young lives out for fourteen long hours each day.

We stopped at 12 for a scanty lunch and a half-hour's rest. At 12:30 we were at it again with never a stop until 7. Then a dreary march home, where we swallowed our scanty supper, talked for a few minutes of our misery and then dropped down upon a pallet of straw, to lie until the whistle should once more awaken us, summoning babes and all alike to another round of toil and misery.

I have seen mothers take their babes and slap cold water in their face to wake the poor little things. I have watched them all day long tending the dangerous machinery. I have seen their helpless limbs torn off, and then when they were disabled and of no more use to their master, thrown out to die. I must give the company credit for having hired a Sunday school teacher to tell the little things that "Jesus put it into the heart of Mr. — to build that factory so they would have work with which to earn a little money to enable them to put a nickel in the box for the poor little heathen Chinese babies."

THE ROPE FACTORY.

I visited the factory in Tuscaloosa, Ala., at 10 o'clock at night. The superintendent, not knowing my mission, gave me the entire freedom of the factory and I made good use of it.

Standing by a siding that contained 155 spindles were two little girls. I asked a man standing near if the children were his, and he replied that they were. "How old are they?" I asked. "This one is 9, the other 10," he replied. "How many hours do they work?" "Twelve," was the answer. "How much do they get a night?" "We all three together get 60 cents. They get 10 cents each and I 40."

I watched them as they left their slave-pen in the morning and saw them gather their rags around their frail forms to hide them from the wintry blast. Half-fed, half-clothed, half-housed, they toil on, while the poodle dogs of their masters are petted and coddled and sleep on pillows of down, and the capitalistic judges jail the agitators that would dare to help these helpless ones to better their condition.

Gibson is another of those little sections of hell with which the South is covered. The weaving of gingham is the principal work. The town is owned by a banker who possesses both people and mills. One of his slaves told me she had received one dollar for her labor for one year. Every weekly pay day her employer gave her a dollar. On Monday she deposited that dollar in the "pluck-me" store to secure food enough to last until the next pay day; and so on week after week.

There was once a law on the statute books of Alabama prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age more than eight hours each day. The Gadston Company would not build their mill until they were promised that this law should be repealed.

When the repeal came up for the final reading I find by an examination of the records of the House that there were sixty members present. Of these, fifty-seven voted for the repeal and but three against. To the everlasting credit of young Manning, who was a member of that House, let it be stated that he both spoke and voted against the repeal.

I asked one member of the House why he voted to murder the children, and he replied that he did not think they could earn enough to support themselves if they only worked eight hours. These are the kind of tools the intelligent workingmen put in office.

* Mary Harris Jones, *International Socialist Review*, I (March 1901): 539-540.

COLLATERAL READING XV

(ACTIVITY III)

For the first time the labor law now makes specific reference to boys setting up pins in bowling alleys, and the employment of children as messengers, ushers, or checkers in places of amusement. Hereafter such work is forbidden for children under fourteen, and under sixteen unless in possession of a regular employment certificate, and then only between the hours of 8 A. M. and 7 P. M. Theaters employing boys as pages or in the distribution of water or other articles will be directly affected by this new law. While in many instances the work is not hard, it is open to serious objection for young children, as it frequently means their returning home alone late at night.

Another new provision (affecting only cities outside New York, Buffalo and Rochester) prohibits the employment of children under sixteen after 7 P. M. in mercantile establishments. This has been the closing hour for several years in the cities mentioned, and is now extended to cover the smaller cities. Proprietors of department stores in up-state cities, who desire to continue using children under sixteen, will have to rearrange their schedule of hours so that their junior help shall not be employed later than 7 P. M. This applies equally to Monday and Saturday evenings, and to the rush season prior to Christmas. It will be the duty of health officers to enforce this law except in first class cities.

Many important changes in and additions to the labor law were made by the Legislature last winter at the request of John Williams, commissioner of labor. One of particular importance in relation to the welfare of children was the addition of two kinds of machinery—metal or paper cutting machines, and corner staying machines in paper box factories—to the list of dangerous occupations in connection with which the employment of children under sixteen is prohibited. This list was originally incorporated in the law in 1909 at the request of the New York Child Labor Committee.*

* "Changes in New York Child Labor Laws," *The Survey*, October 8, 1910.

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COLLATERAL READING XVI

(ACTIVITY III)

OLD COUNTRY MOTHERS AND AMERICAN DAUGHTERS—BY CHRISTINA MERRIMAN*

It is a remarkably comprehensive, balanced and interesting survey¹ that Miss Montgomery has made, of the industrial and educational problems of a district torn by the struggle between the inherited standards of the European peasants and those of their American daughters, "struggling to keep up with American standards" and making every effort to avoid being classed as a "foreigner." The same problem concerns every American city which has a foreign industrial community.

The study is based on the records of 900 families known to the University of Chicago Settlement for a number of years, and from which was selected a group of 500 girls from whom it was possible to secure the most reliable information.

Taken all in all, it is an indictment of an educational system which fails to provide a practical education for these restless young daughters, and of an industrial system which permits their employment in industries where they "grow dull with a routine that calls for no exercise of brain power, and where the general stupidity of which many employers complain is increased as the months go by."

Miss Montgomery contends that the labor of girls under sixteen is not necessary to the continuation of any business, and, as a buttress for her position, quotes one of the largest employers of child labor as saying, "If we could not by law employ the girl under sixteen years, we should find some work to make the machine do her work," and points to the frank declaration of another, that: "As an employer, I can and do make money out of the work of little girls. As a man, I know it would be better for them and for the state if I were forbidden by law to employ them."

The author, however, recognizes the problems of constantly changing and inefficient employes with which the employer is faced, and records their "growing sentiment against the employment of children."

**The Survey*, October 25, 1913, p. 88.

¹The American Girl in the Stockyards District: By Louise Montgomery. An investigation carried on under the direction of the board of the University of Chicago Settlement and the Chicago Alumnae Club of the University of Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 70 pp.

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COLLATERAL READING XVII

(ACTIVITY III)

NEW CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK*—BY GEORGE A. HALL, SECRETARY NEW YORK CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

All but two of the thirty-two bills recommended by the New York Factory Investigating Commission were enacted by the 1913 Legislature and received the governor's approval. Not the least among these were five new child labor laws, three of which went into effect October 1. To these bills the New York Child Labor Committee gave its active support. Two were practically the same as measures which had been presented to previous legislatures by the committee whose earlier campaigns paved the way for their passage in 1913.

The entire state and the country as well were stirred by the revelations of this commission regarding the industrial conditions in New York canneries. Nothing in many years has more outraged the public conscience than the reports of this official investigation, showing that children from three years of age and upward worked in the sheds of canning factories. Many instances were also revealed of children as young as five years of age working in tenements. The investigation showed that this work was a menace to the home, to the children, and to the public. To remedy these evils the Legislature enacted a law forbidding the employment of children under fourteen years of age at any place upon work for a factory, or upon any of the materials entering into the product of the factory. A factory is defined as any workshop or manufacturing establishment, and all buildings, sheds, structures or other places used for or in connection therewith. By this amendment it is believed that the employment of children both in cannery sheds and in tenement manufacturing will come under the law.

A forward step was taken in 1912, through the enactment of a bill authorizing the labor commissioner to prescribe a thorough physical examination for all children applying for employment certificates. It was subsequently pointed out that this law did not fully meet the need. Frequently, children work in factories when physically unfit for confining employment. When provided with a legal certificate, however, and working within legal hours, inspectors are powerless, no matter how injurious may be the employment. In England factory inspectors are empowered by law to stop children or young persons working at any time when their health or strength appears unequal to their tasks. Such children may not be re-employed until after a new physical examination by the certifying surgeon. The medical inspector of the Labor Department cited before the commission instances of children found at work in totally unfit physical condition:

"One inspector found in a pottery factory a boy fifteen years old who had not fully recovered from typhoid fever. He was in what should have been the convalescent state of typhoid fever and should have been at home. He was running slips in the pottery, a very dirty occupation, and putting handles on the cups. The boy was anaemic and absolutely unfit to continue at work, yet he was legally employed, and the inspector had no power to order him to go home."

**The Survey*, XXXI (October 25, 1913): 88.

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The New York labor law heretofore specified a list of dangerous trades and occupations from which children under sixteen are barred. Such a list obviously needs to be amplified from time to time as new occupations are found which may be dangerous to child workers. To meet this need another law was passed which empowers the new Industrial Board of the Labor Department to specify from time to time trades in which the employment of children under the age of eighteen years shall be forbidden or regulated.

Better Schooling Required

One of the most important of the new child labor laws is that providing for more schooling for children before they go to work. Heretofore the statute has merely required that a child under sixteen years of age who desired to leave school to go to work must be able to read and write simple sentences in the English language, and must have received instruction in reading, spelling, writing, English grammar, and geography, and be familiar with the fundamental operations of arithmetic up to and including fractions. Because this law contained no definite standard in terms of a school grade, the provision has been differently construed throughout the state, each local authority deciding at what point in the curriculum the child had fulfilled legal requirements.

The new law establishes, as a statewide standard, completion of the work of the first six years of the public elementary school or of the parochial school which a child has attended. Children starting school at seven years of age and promoted in a normal manner usually complete the sixth year between their twelfth and thirteenth birthdays. Thus the law requires for a fourteen-year-old child only what is being regularly fulfilled by thousands of children from one to two years younger.

The last in the series of the commission's child labor laws was aimed at an improvement in the work of issuing employment certificates throughout the state. Under the New York law children who desire to work must obtain an employment certificate from the health officer of the city or town in which they reside. The law prescribes the age, educational and physical qualifications which children must satisfy to receive such a certificate.

The shortcomings of this law were described in the commission's report:

"Much of the good the law thus seeks to accomplish through these safeguards may be nullified by the carelessness or indifference of the issuing officials. With as many places to secure these certificates as there are communities it is not surprising that a great difference has resulted in the thoroughness of the attention given this subject. In some towns the health of the children applying has been given little or no attention; in others improper kinds of proofs of the children's ages have been accepted, while in others the test as to their educational proficiency has been entirely neglected. . . . In order to protect the children in the manner the law-makers intended, the commission feels that the Department of Labor--the agency most closely connected with working children--should be given the definite duty of supervising the issuance of employment certificates by health officers, and the prescribing and furnishing of the necessary blanks and forms needed by them in that work."

CHAPTER X

THE MARCH OF THE MILL CHILDREN *

In the spring of 1903 I went to Kensington, Pennsylvania, where seventy-five thousand textile workers were on strike. Of this number at least ten thousand were little children. The workers were striking for more pay and shorter hours. Every day little children came into Union Headquarters, some with their hands off, some with the thumb missing, some with their fingers off at the knuckle. They were stooped little things, round shouldered and skinny. Many of them were not over ten years of age, although the state law prohibited their working before they were twelve years of age.

The law was poorly enforced and the mothers of these children often swore falsely as to their children's age. In a single block in Kensington, fourteen women, mothers of twenty-two children all under twelve, explained it was a question of starvation or perjury. That the fathers had been killed or maimed at the mines.

I asked the newspaper men why they didn't publish the facts about child labor in Pennsylvania. They said they couldn't because the mill owners had stock in the papers.

"Well, I've got stock in these little children," said I, "and I'll arrange a little publicity."

We assembled a number of boys and girls one morning in Independence Park and from there we arranged to parade with banners to the court house where we would hold a meeting.

A great crowd gathered in the public square in front of the city hall. I put the little boys with their fingers off and hands crushed and maimed on a platform. I held up their mutilated hands and showed them to the crowd and made the statement that Philadelphia's mansions were built on the broken bones, the quivering hearts and drooping heads of these children. That their little lives went out to make wealth for others. That neither state or city officials paid any attention to these wrongs. That they did not care that these children were to be the future citizens of the nation.

The officials of the city hall were standing in the open windows. I held the little ones of the mills high up above the heads of the crowd and pointed to their puny arms and legs and hollow chests. They were light to lift.

I called upon the millionaire manufacturers to cease their moral murders, and I cried to the officials in the open windows opposite, "Some day the workers will take possession of your city hall, and when we do, no child will be sacrificed on the altar of profit."

The officials quickly closed the windows, just as they had closed their eyes and hearts.

The reporters quoted my statement that Philadelphia mansions were built on the broken bones and quivering hearts of children. The Philadelphia papers and the New York papers got into a squabble with each other over the question. The universities discussed it. Preachers began talking. That was what I wanted. Public attention on the subject of child labor.

The matter quieted down for a while and I concluded the people needed stirring up again. The Liberty Bell that a century ago rang out for freedom against tyranny was touring the country and crowds were coming to see it everywhere. That gave me an idea. These little children were striking for some of the freedom that childhood ought to have, and I decided that the children and I would go on a tour.

I asked some of the parents if they would let me have their little boys and girls for a week or ten days, promising to bring them back safe and sound. They consented. A man named Sweeny was marshal for our "army." A few men and women went with me to help with the children. They were on strike and I thought they might as well have a little recreation.

The children carried knapsacks on their backs in which was a knife and fork, a tin cup and plate. We took along a wash boiler in which to cook the food on the road. One little fellow had a drum and another had a fife. That was our band. We carried banners that said, "We want

* Mary Harris Jones, *The Life of Mother Jones*, (Chicago: Charles Kerr & Co., 1972), pp. 71-83. Reprinted with permission.

more schools and less hospitals." "We want time to play." "Prosperity is here. Where is ours?"

We started from Philadelphia where we held a great mass meeting. I decided to go with the children to see President Roosevelt to ask him to have Congress pass a law prohibiting the exploitation of childhood. I thought that President Roosevelt might see these mill children and compare them with his own little ones who were spending the summer on the seashore at Oyster Bay. I thought, too, out of politeness, we might call on Morgan in Wall Street who owned the mines where many of these children's fathers worked.

The children were very happy, having plenty to eat, taking baths in the brooks and rivers every day. I thought when the strike is over and they go back to the mills, they will never have another holiday like this. All along the line of march the farmers drove out to meet us with wagon loads of fruit and vegetables. Their wives brought the children clothes and money. The interurban trainmen would stop their trains and give us free rides.

Marshal Sweeny and I would go ahead to the towns and arrange sleeping quarters for the children, and secure meeting halls. As we marched on, it grew terribly hot. There was no rain and the roads were heavy with dust. From time to time we had to send some of the children back to their homes. They were too weak to stand the march.

We were on the outskirts of New Trenton, New Jersey, cooking our lunch in the wash boiler, when the conductor on the interurban car stopped and told us the police were coming down to notify us that we could not enter the town. There were mills in the town and the mill owners didn't like our coming.

I said, "All right, the police will be just in time for lunch."

Sure enough, the police came and we invited them to dine with us. They looked at the little gathering of children with their tin plates and cups around the wash boiler. They just smiled and spoke kindly to the children, and said nothing at all about not going into the city.

We went in, held our meeting, and it was the wives of the police who took the little children and cared for them that night, sending them back in the morning with a nice lunch rolled up in paper napkins.

Everywhere we had meetings, showing up with living children, the horrors of child labor.

At one town the mayor said we could not hold a meeting because he did not have sufficient police protection. "These little children have never known any sort of protection, your honor," I said, "and they are used to going without it." He let us have our meeting.

One night in Princeton, New Jersey, we slept in the big cool barn on Grover Cleveland's great estate. The heat became intense. There was much suffering in our ranks, for our little ones were not robust. The proprietor of the leading hotel sent for me. "Mother," he said, "order what you want and all you want for your army, and there's nothing to pay."

I called on the mayor of Princeton and asked for permission to speak opposite the campus of the University. I said I wanted to speak on higher education. The mayor gave me permission. A great crowd gathered, professors and students and the people; and I told them that the rich robbed these little children of any education of the lowest order that they might send their sons and daughters to places of higher education. That they used the hands and feet of little children that they might buy automobiles for their wives and police dogs for their daughters to talk French to. I said the mill owners take babies almost from the cradle. And I showed those professors children in our army who could scarcely read or write because they were working ten hours a day in the silk mills of Pennsylvania.

"Here's a text book on economics," I said, pointing to a little chap, James Ashworth, who was ten years old and who was stooped over like an old man from carrying bundles of yarn that weighed seventy-five pounds. "He gets three dollars a week and his sister who is fourteen gets six dollars. They work in a carpet factory ten hours a day while the children of the rich are getting their higher education."

That night we camped on the banks of Stony Brook where years and years before the ragged Revolutionary Army camped, Washington's brave soldiers that made their fight for freedom.

From Jersey City we marched to Hoboken. I sent a committee over to the New York Chief of Police, Ebstein, asking for permission to march up Fourth Avenue to Madison Square where I wanted to hold a meeting. The chief refused and forbade our entrance to the city.

I went over myself to New York and saw Mayor Seth Low. The mayor was most courteous but he said he would have to support the

police commissioner. I asked him what the reason was for refusing us entrance to the city and he said that we were not citizens of New York.

"Oh, I think we will clear that up, Mr. Mayor," I said. "Permit me to call your attention to an incident which took place in this nation just a year ago. A piece of rotten royalty came over here from Germany, called Prince Henry. The Congress of the United States voted \$45,000 to fill that fellow's stomach for three weeks and to entertain him. His brother was getting \$4,000,000 dividends out of the blood of the workers in this country. Was he a citizen of this land?"

"And it was reported, Mr. Mayor, that you and all the officials of New York and the University Club entertained that chap." And I repeated, "Was he a citizen of New York?"

"No, Mother," said the mayor, "he was not."

"And a Chinaman called Lee Woo was also entertained by the officials of New York. Was he a citizen of New York?"

"No, Mother, he was not."

"Did they ever create any wealth for our nation?"

"No, Mother, they did not," said he.

"Well, Mr. Mayor, these are the little citizens of the nation and they also produce its wealth. Aren't we entitled to enter your city?"

"Just wait," says he, and he called the commissioner of police over to his office.

Well, finally they decided to let the army come in. We marched up Fourth Avenue to Madison Square and police officers, captains, sergeants, roundsmen and reserves from three precincts accompanied us. But the police would not let us hold a meeting in Madison Square. They insisted that the meeting be held in Twentieth Street.

I pointed out to the captain that the single taxers were allowed to hold meetings in the square. "Yes," he said, "but they won't have twenty people and you might have twenty thousand."

We marched to Twentieth Street. I told an immense crowd of the horrors of child labor in the mills around the anthracite region and I showed them some of the children. I showed them Eddie Dunphy, a little fellow of twelve, whose job it was to sit all day on a high stool, handing in the right thread to another worker. Eleven hours a day he sat on the high stool

with dangerous machinery all about him. All day long, winter and summer, spring and fall, for three dollars a week.

And then I showed them Gussie Rangnew, a little girl from whom all the childhood had gone. Her face was like an old woman's. Gussie packed stockings in a factory, eleven hours a day for a few cents a day.

We raised a lot of money for the strikers and hundreds of friends offered their homes to the little ones while we were in the city.

The next day we went to Coney Island at the invitation of Mr. Bostick who owned the wild animal show. The children had a wonderful day such as they never had in all their lives. After the exhibition of the trained animals, Mr. Bostick let me speak to the audience. There was a back drop to the tiny stage of the Roman Colosseum with the audience painted in and two Roman emperors down in front with their thumbs down. Right in front of the emperors were the empty iron cages of the animals. I put my little children in the cages and they clung to the iron bars while I talked.

I told the crowd that the scene was typical of the aristocracy of employers with their thumbs down to the little ones of the mills and factories, and people sitting dumbly by.

"We want President Roosevelt to hear the wail of the children who never have a chance to go to school but work eleven and twelve hours a day in the textile mills of Pennsylvania; who weave the carpets that he and you walk upon; and the lace curtains in your windows, and the clothes of the people. Fifty years ago there was a cry against slavery and men gave up their lives to stop the selling of black children on the block. Today the white child is sold for two dollars a week to the manufacturers. Fifty years ago the black babies were sold C. O. D. Today the white baby is sold on the installment plan.

"In Georgia where children work day and night in the cotton mills they have just passed a bill to protect song birds. What about the little children from whom all song is gone?"

"I shall ask the president in the name of the aching hearts of these little ones that he emancipate them from slavery. I will tell the president that the prosperity he boasts of is the prosperity of the rich wrung from the poor and the helpless.

"The trouble is that no one in Washington cares. I saw our legislators in one hour pass

three bills for the relief of the railways but when labor cries for aid for the children they will not listen.

"I asked a man in prison once how he happened to be there and he said he had stolen a pair of shoes. I told him if he had stolen a railroad he would be a United States Senator.

"We are told that every American boy has the chance of being president. I tell you that these little boys in the iron cages would sell their chance any day for good square meals and a chance to play. These little toilers whom I have taken from the mills—deformed, dwarfed in body and soul, with nothing but toil before them—have never heard that they have a chance, the chance of every American male citizen, to become the president.

"You see those monkeys in those cages over there." I pointed to a side cage. "The professors are trying to teach them to talk. The monkeys are too wise for they fear that the manufacturers would buy them for slaves in their factories."

I saw a stylishly dressed young man down in the front of the audience. Several times he grinned. I stopped speaking and pointing to him I said, 'Stop your smiling, young man! Leave this place! Go home and beg the mother who bore you in pain, as the mothers of these little children bore them, go home and beg her to give you brains and a heart.'

He rose and slunk out, followed by the eyes of the children in the cage. The people sat stone still and out in the rear a lion roared.

The next day we left Coney Island for Manhattan Beach to visit Senator Platt, who had made an appointment to see me at nine o'clock in the morning. The children got stuck in the sand banks and I had a time cleaning the sand off the littlest ones. So we started to walk on the railroad track. I was told it was private property and we had to get off. Finally a saloon keeper showed us a short cut into the sacred grounds of the hotel and suddenly the army appeared in the lobby. The little fellows played "Hail, hail, the gang's all here" on their fifes and drums, and Senator Platt when he saw the little army ran away through the back door to New York.

I asked the manager if he would give the children breakfast and charge it up to the Senator as we had an invitation to breakfast that morning with him. He gave us a private room and he gave those children such a break-

fast as they had never had in all their lives. I had breakfast too, and a reporter from one of the Hearst papers and I charged it all up to Senator Platt.

We marched down to Oyster Bay but the president refused to see us and he would not answer my letters. But our march had done its work. We had drawn the attention of the nation to the crime of child labor. And while the strike of the textile workers in Kensington was lost and the children driven back to work, not long afterward the Pennsylvania legislature passed a child labor law that sent thousands of children home from the mills, and kept thousands of others from entering the factory until they were fourteen years of age.

COLLATERAL READING XIX

(ACTIVITY III)

FLORENCE KELLEY*

Her growing concern with child labor had found expression as early as 1889 in a pamphlet, *Our Toiling Children*. In 1892, at her suggestion, the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics hired her to investigate the "sweating" system in the garment industry. That same year the federal commissioner of labor, Carroll D. Wright, asked her to take part in a survey of city slums. Her findings, in her official reports and in the chapters she contributed to the collaborative *Hull-House Maps and Papers* (1895), deeply influenced her Hull House colleagues. She "galvanized us all into more intelligent interest in the industrial conditions all about us," wrote Jane Addams (*Julia Lathrop*, p. 116). In large part because of Florence Kelley's influence, the Illinois legislature in 1893 passed a factory act limiting hours of work for women, prohibiting child labor, and controlling tenement sweatshops. Gov. John Peter Altgeld appointed her the chief factory inspector. With a staff of twelve and an appropriation of \$12,000, she proceeded to investigate violations of the new measure and, in skillfully written annual reports, to bring them before the public. The work was not without hazard. A warning shot was fired at her in one factory, and during the smallpox epidemic of 1893 she risked infection in gathering evidence that sweatshops were flourishing in disease-ridden tenements. Aroused by her difficulty in getting cases prosecuted, she enrolled in evening classes at the Northwestern University Law School, earned her law degree in 1894, and was soon after admitted to the bar. Though the state supreme court struck down part of the factory act in 1895, Mrs. Kelley continued her work until dismissed by Altgeld's successor in 1897. She remained at Hull House for two more years, speaking and writing on socialism and industrial problems and supporting her family by an evening job in Chicago's John Crerar Library.

Besides factory inspection and compulsory school laws, Florence Kelley had early proposed another means of attack on child labor: organized pressure from the buying public. She therefore accepted with alacrity an invitation from the reformer John Graham Brooks to become general secretary of the newly formed National Consumers' League, which proposed to use consumer pressure to assure that goods were manufactured and sold under proper working conditions. Moving with her children to LILLIAN WALD's Henry Street Settlement in New York, she took the job in May 1899 and kept it until her death. During the intervening years she traveled thousands of miles speaking to women's clubs, labor unions, legislative committees, colleges, indeed to any group that would listen to her message. Though never a first-rate administrator, she had an uncanny ability to find good people, inspire them to constructive action, and command public attention. In time she organized sixty Consumers' Leagues in twenty different states, and two international conferences. Although careless of dress ("always in black, no stays," recalled Mary Dewson), she was a handsome, large-headed, dark-haired woman, impressive in bearing and animated in speech and gesture.

*James, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 317-318.

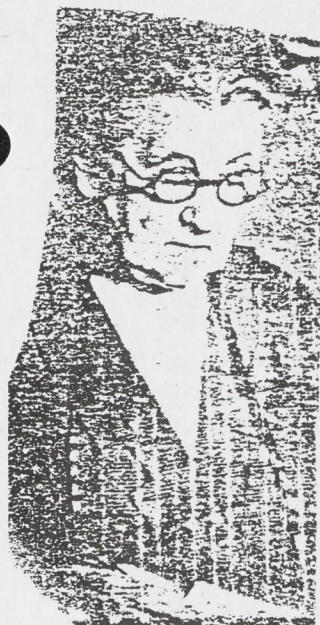
Reprinted by permission of the President and Council of Radcliffe College.

"She had the voice and the presence of a great actress," wrote Frances Perkins, "although she was far from theatrical in her intentions."

Florence Kelley's principal goals, as set forth in her book *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation* (1905), were the enactment of wage and hour laws (particularly to protect women workers) and the elimination of child labor. When an Oregon ten-hour law for women was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1907, it was Mrs. Kelley and her Consumers' League colleague JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK who persuaded Louis D. Brandeis to join the case and who drew up much of the sociological and medical data incorporated in his famous "Brandeis brief." Enheartened by their success (in *Muller v. Oregon*, 1908), they collaborated with Brandeis on other important cases and, after his appointment to the Supreme Court, with Felix Frankfurter. In many articles and speeches, including an address to the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1911, Mrs. Kelley helped bring the issue before the nation, and it was in large part owing to her efforts that by 1913 nine states had adopted some form of minimum-wage legislation.

The struggle against the exploitation of children remained her deepest concern. In 1902 she and Lillian Wald led fellow settlement workers in setting up a New York Child Labor Committee, and in 1904 she helped organize the National Child Labor Committee, of which she was a board member for many years. Her appeals took on added poignancy after the death of her own daughter from a heart attack in 1905--a blow she felt deeply. In *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation* she suggested the need for a federal children's commission (an idea championed by Lillian Wald as well), and she was gratified when in 1912 Congress created the Children's Bureau and President Taft named Julia Lathrop of Hull House its first director. Using all the facilities at her command, Florence Kelley publicized the bureau's findings and backed such federal legislation as the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act of 1916.

In 1909, reflecting another longstanding interest, she helped organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She opposed America's imperialist ventures at the turn of the century, maintained her pacifist position during the First World War, and in 1919 was a founding member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Nor were her socialist loyalties forgotten. Active from 1911 in the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (later the League for Industrial Democracy), she was its president during the war years of 1918-20; and in 1912 she joined Eugene V. Debs' Socialist Party of America. She participated wholeheartedly in the fight for woman suffrage, serving for some years as vice-president of the National Woman Suffrage Association.



COLLATERAL READING XX

(ACTIVITY III)

THE CASE - PRO AND CON

"New Deal" legislation has again focussed wide interest in the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is now up for consideration before several state legislatures.

THE PROPOSAL: (1) *The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.*
(2) *The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of the state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.*

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT?*

YES--

says Jane Addams
Social Worker, Founder of Hull House

There is no reason to believe that Congress would abuse its power and the reasonable provisions of the two federal laws, previously enacted, indicate that Congress would be conservative in regulating child labor.

The first Federal Child Labor Law, approved on September 1, 1916, prohibited the shipment in interstate and foreign commerce of goods produced in mines or quarries in which children under sixteen years of age were employed, or in mills, canneries, workshops, factories, or manufacturing establishments in which children under fourteen years of age were employed, or in which children fourteen to sixteen years of age worked more than eight hours a day or six days a week, or between the hours of 7 P.M. and 6 A.M.

This law was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court on June 3, 1918, on the ground that it did not constitute a legitimate use of the Interstate Commerce Act. However, every care was taken to safeguard the integrity and purpose of the law, which had been in force nine months before it was declared unconstitutional. The verdict had a bare majority of one in the Supreme Court, and there was almost universal testimony to the salutary effect of the law.

**Rotarian*, XLVI (March 1935): 12-13, 45-46.

Reprinted with permission. This argument represents only a portion of a debate printed on the topic "Child Labor in America." The rebuttal to Jane Addams was written by C. L. Bardo.

The second Federal Child Labor Law, included in the Revenue Act approved February 24, 1919, imposed a tax upon profits of all mines and manufacturing establishment employing children in violation of the standards set in the first law. It was declared unconstitutional on May 15, 1922, after it had been in force for three years and its results also had been widely acclaimed.

Why do we consider the state legislatures so much wiser than Congress? Almost every state in the Union has passed some sort of child labor legislation. Their legislatures as a rule have set up certain age, educational and physical standards which the child must meet before he can be employed in a specific list of occupations. They limit his hours of employment during the first years of his working life and protect him from engaging in certain hazardous employments.

The state laws are enforced through a work permit system administered in most states through local school authorities and through an inspection of places of employment by a state agency. Compulsory education naturally regulates the employment of children during school hours.

Coöperative methods similar to those employed in the most advanced states were also used in the enforcement of the Federal Child Labor Law; first by the Children's Bureau, which was charged with the enforcement of the first act, and later by the Treasury Department, responsible for the enforcement of the second act. But the administration was inevitably superior to that of the states because of its uniformity of standards for the entire country.

The steel industry, for instance, has large plants in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in Youngstown, Ohio, in Gary, Indiana, and near Birmingham, Alabama. The children in these various states are all citizens of the United States and the future of the republic is dependent upon their protection and education irrespective of the state in which they may be living.

It is also true that under state regulations many states are unwilling to adopt adequate child labor provisions because their industries would have to compete with industries in states with low child labor standards.

In the winter of 1933 bills to raise the minimum age for employment to sixteen years were introduced in eleven state legislatures, but were passed in only two. Nevertheless, when, a few months later, the sixteen-year age minimum was incorporated in the NRA codes, thus becoming *a uniform standard for industry throughout the country*, it was widely acclaimed even in those states which had refused to enact state legislation on the subject. It required federal action to protect the fifty thousand boys and girls under eighteen years of age who were injured each year in industrial accidents. I count it as one of the great achievements of the NRA that most of the codes regulate employment in hazardous types of work. In 555 codes adopted to January 7th, 1935, 500 specify 16 years as the basic minimum; 46 codes require 18 years; 4 require 17 years, while 5 codes require 21 years as a basic minimum. However, of the 500 codes requiring 16 years as the basic minimum for occupations generally, 407 of this group specify 18 years as the minimum in the more hazardous branches of their industry. When these codes are in full operation there should be 50 thousand children between 16 and 18 removed from jobs where they have been in danger of being killed or maimed for life.

The need for nation-wide regulation was dramatically shown by the inclusion of anti child labor provisions in all the codes of air competition. One hundred fifty thousand children had been safeguarded under special codes, although we must remember that child labor has been eliminated only for a period of emergency; that there is no way of preserving the gains after the expiration of the codes in 1935, unless renewed for a two-year period, except through ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. Most of the codes are quite satisfactory and give us all that could be asked for.

There are, however, exceptions. For example, it is hard to understand why the Iron and Steel code should not prohibit the labor of youths between sixteen and eighteen for whom the accident rate is very high in certain more hazardous processes. This has been done in coal mining and in over 400 other codes.

And then there are the newsboys. They were included under the proposed code for the newspaper industry, but the exceptions finally made are in striking contrast to the safeguards in other codes. Modification of the code in February, 1934, prohibited children under sixteen to sell papers at night. As it happens, however, in most metropolitan centers the selling is done by day while delivering is done by night.

There is slight protection, therefore, for those little children who must, perhaps, get a start at 3 o'clock in the morning to finish a long route before breakfast. The selfmade man, who remembers how he himself delivered newspapers in a small town, never for a moment encountered conditions such as these, but nevertheless he cites his own experience to nullify the protection afforded by the NRA code. The periodical-publishing industry proposed exempting from age provisions all those employed on a commission basis, which would exempt young children employed in the sale of periodicals from any code regulations whatever, as they are technically merchants and not employed by anybody.

Unfortunately, certain types of work are not covered by any code or agreement, such as migrant farm laborers. The beet-sugar children, whose condition was revealed at the congressional hearing on the Sugar Stabilization Agreement, are in a sense typical because sugar beets are cultivated on a contract basis, as are so many other undertakings on industrialized farms. The head of the family contracts to do the work on a certain acreage. The number of acres assigned to him depends on how many children he has, and all children over seven years of age work steadily from sun-up till sundown.

The result is wretched living conditions and pay so inadequate that state relief has been obliged heavily to subsidize beet-sugar workers everywhere, although the industry constantly claims high tariff protections. The conditions were so flagrant that the United States secretary of labor has appointed a committee to deal especially with labor conditions in the beet fields.

In November, 1934, labor provisions were announced for benefit agreements in 1935 and 1936 which prohibit sugar beet growers from using children under 14, and from working children between 14 and 16 more than eight hours a day; these restrictions do not apply to children working on their parents' farms.

The National Child Labor Committee estimates the total number of children hired out for wages or by contract to cultivate various crops *away from home* is

approximately one hundred thousand. Many are to be found on truck farms near cities and in other areas such as the cranberry bogs of New Jersey, the tobacco fields of New England, the onion fields of Ohio, and among the cotton pickers of the South and Southwest. The conditions of these children are quite unlike the conditions of those who work on their home farms with their parents.

* * * * *

It is a curious fact also that men whose business is unrestricted by state laws and who send their products unchallenged from one state to another, insist that the protection afforded to working children should be limited by state laws. The employer in Chicago who most actively fought the first Federal Child Labor Act was a manufacturer who had his factory in Indiana with salesrooms and business offices in the city of Chicago. At that time he availed himself of the Child Labor Law in Indiana, which permitted children to work at a lower age than the law in Illinois.

In fact, the reasons for the adoption of the Federal Child Labor Amendment are twofold: first, there is the desire to prevent the exploitation of children in industry; and second, the desire to protect those states wishing to guard against the evils of child labor from unfair trade competition of the manufacturers and other employers of labor in one or more states where the child labor laws are lax.

COLLATERAL READING XXI

(ACTIVITY III)

THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

A Necessary Safeguard *

by Frances Perkins
United States Secretary of Labor

History repeats itself. When the first federal labor law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, states with lower child-labor standards than those set by the federal law experienced a prompt increase in the number of working children under sixteen and the immediate restoration of a longer working day. There was also, in a number of states, an appreciable increase in the violation of state laws. While the federal laws were in effect, many states took steps to improve their own child-labor laws and administrative practices. During the succeeding years legislative progress was much less rapid. Comparison of 1920 and 1930 census figures shows a general downward trend in the numbers of gainfully employed children during the decade. Yet, in 1929, reports on first working papers issued to fourteen- and fifteen-year-old boys and girls in forty-two of our largest cities showed a four-per-cent increase over the preceding year in the number of children of these ages leaving school for work, per ten thousand total population of the same ages.

As business stagnation became more pronounced during the depression period, the nation was confronted with the tragic paradox of children leaving school to compete with their parents for any kind of a job at any kind of a price. Fly-by-night industries sprang up in many sections, threatening the standards of reputable employers. The sweatshop, which all had believed a thing of the past, reappeared, with exploitation of young boys and girls as its inevitable corollary. In some factories a large proportion of the labor supply was made up of workers under sixteen. Hours of work increased, children working as much as ten or twelve a day. Wages dropped to as low as a few cents an hour. It was the spring of 1933 that conditions in some of the clothing factories in the Lehigh Valley of Pennsylvania became so oppressive that the child workers struck--the first "baby strike," as it was called, in this country.

Those who contend that child-labor regulation should be left entirely to the states find it difficult to explain why these conditions did not impel the states to take action. Strengthening of state laws had been recommended by a national conference of representatives of state departments of labor, national organizations, and federal agencies that had been held in Washington in December, 1932, on the call of the Children's Bureau. This conference recommended that the forty-seven state legislatures holding sessions in 1933 should enact laws providing for a sixteen-year minimum age for entering employment. To counteract the

**The Forum*, XCII (February 1935): 71-73.

deplorable breakdown of standards on all sides, it was believed that real progress would be made. Yet, despite this concerted effort, only two states enacted laws providing for a sixteen-year minimum. Only four states--Ohio, Wisconsin, Utah, and Montana--now have a sixteen-year minimum age for entering employment. The majority of the states still retain the old fourteen-year minimum, and a few have a fifteen-year minimum for work during school hours.

II

The Federal Child Labor Amendment was submitted to the states by Congress in 1924 by a vote of 297 to 69 in the House and 61 to 23 in the Senate. It had the endorsement of all political parties. Participating in the drafting of the amendment were some of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the country.

Some occupations, such as industrialized agriculture, in which children are employed in large numbers remain entirely outside the jurisdiction of the National Industrial Recovery Act. For example, a study made by the Department of Labor and Agriculture and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, following the strikes in Ohio onion fields last summer, revealed eighteen per cent of the workers to be under sixteen and ten per cent under fourteen years of age. These were not children working on their parents' farms but hired hands in commercialized agriculture, working at wages so low that often the combined earning of a family totaled less than \$250 a year.

Opponents of the Child Labor Amendment have sought to arouse farmers against it, on the ground that it will prohibit children from helping their parents on the farm and in the home, in feeding the chickens, bringing in the cows, washing dishes, and doing other chores. It is inconceivable that a Congress responsible to the people, who have an opportunity, through congressional elections, for frequent review of its acts, would pass laws of this kind. As Secretary of Agriculture Wallace said:

Coming from an agricultural state I am familiar with the attempts of opponents of the amendment to arouse farmers against it on the ground that farm boys and girls would no longer be permitted to help with the chores and that the parents' authority over their children would be seriously impaired. Of course this is nonsense, and every fair-minded person who knows anything at all about the proposed amendment knows that it is nonsense. . . . The amendment ought to be adopted.

The amendment would authorize Congress to legislate only with reference to the labor of persons under the age of eighteen years, whereas certain provisions of state laws relating to the employment of minors apply to all under the age of twenty-one. Under the proposed amendment Congress will be able to give boys and girls under eighteen the protection against employment in hazardous occupations that has been given by the National Industrial Recovery Act codes.

Perhaps, of all the arguments advanced against the amendment, the claim that it was inspired by communists is the most incomprehensible. It would seem to indicate, however, that those who can no longer win by logic or legal argument seek to win by fear. The red herring of communistic influence was utilized in much of the literature circulated last year in opposition to the amendment. The assertions made in some of this literature are easily disproved, for the record

is clear, but many fair-minded people who read misleading statements and misquotations have no opportunity to discover the facts for themselves.

For example, chief responsibility for drafting the amendment has been attributed to the late Florence Kelley. While Mrs. Kelley made an outstanding contribution to the whole movement for improvement of child-labor conditions and was deeply interested in the amendment, the wording of the amendment was developed in conferences of constitutional lawyers, members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and members of a committee of distinguished men and women headed by the late Samuel Gompers.

The late Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, gave one of the briefest and best arguments in favor of the Child Labor Amendment in an address before the Society of Harvard Dames, when he said:

I am surprised at the illogical character of the arguments set up by the intelligent and experienced persons who are protesting against the Child Labor Amendment. That amendment does nothing but provide that Congress shall have the power to pass laws concerning child labor which shall apply to the whole country. That power seems to me to be absolutely indispensable to the correct, sound, orderly management of the whole subject of child labor and its confessed evils.

The American Legion has given vigorous and effective assistance in the campaign for the ratification of the amendment. In its recent convention at Miami it reaffirmed its endorsement. The American Federation of Labor has always been one of its principal sponsors. The support of these organizations, the effective leadership of the National Child Labor Committee, the efforts of twenty-two other national organizations, including civic, welfare, educational, religious, and labor groups, and a large number of the nation's most distinguished citizens in every walk of life working for the amendment should insure success in 1935. Ratification by the necessary sixteen states will make permanent the great gains for children achieved under the National Recovery program.

COLLATERAL READING XXII
(ACTIVITY IV)

THE SURVEY*

JANE ADDAMS

May 4, 1912

Prostitution remains today a hard, unresolved mass in the midst of so-called Christian civilization, until it has come to be regarded as a vice which cannot be eradicated, as a sin which cannot be forgiven, as a social disease which cannot be cured. The police connivance at prostitution inevitably creates a necessity for both graft and blackmail; the graft is easy because the owner of an illicit business expects to pay for it, and every politician to the tip-top of the administration receives his share of this illicit fund; in connection with this a municipal blackmail is also established which just escapes legal recognition. Prostitution, protected by a thick hedge of secrecy, imperceptibly renewing itself through changing administrations, is the one fixed point of maladministration, the unbreakable bank to which every corrupt politician may repair when in need of funds. The corruption spreads until the brothel, the saloon, and the gambling hall are the trio literally at the base of the real administration of our cities. Certainly the harlot has been avenged upon the city which so despises her. The men who consider her a legitimate source of revenue in a thousand ways fleece the decent tax-payers who refuse to acknowledge her existence, and she abides through one administration after another to the confusion and frustration of all movements for civic reform.

The laws of Illinois do not differ markedly from those of other states. The charge of seduction made against a man is defined as a misdemeanor--a breach of manners, as it were; the punishment for rape is the same as that inflicted for the theft of fifteen dollars' worth of property and a man may not be extradited from one state to another for so slight an offense; the charge of bastardy against a man is not even a crime and is tried in a civil court; when the paternity of a child is proven beyond doubt or quibble, the father under a maximum sentence can be made to pay an average of ninety-seven cents a week for its maintenance until the child is ten years old, but if the child dies before that age the father is exempted even from this. So sure are all men that woman is the tempter that the age of consent is absurdly low; in some states a little girl of ten is considered the aggressor although her seducer may be a man of well-known immorality.

On the other hand, if an illegitimate child dies before it is born the mother, if she conceals the fact, although totally innocent of its death, may be committed to the county jail.

Quite recently in Chicago a Bohemian girl, working as a maid in an American family, was seduced by the head of the house and later driven forth on the usual ground that a Christian home must not be polluted by such a presence.

*"A Challenge to the Contemporary Church," XXVIII: 195-198.

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Her child was born one day when she was quite alone in her cousin's house; following her first instinct to take it to its father, she wrapped it in an apron and carried it immediately to his door, quite oblivious of the fact that her every step could be followed by a group of street boys. The child was found dead upon the door step and the distraught mother was at once arrested on the charge of murder, although out of the depths of her ignorance and inexperience she could not tell whether or not her child had been born alive. The first ministrations to her dire need came from the matron in the police station.

It was not until weeks afterward that a group of women found her in the county jail, where having been indicted by the grand jury she has been awaiting trial, while the father of her child had been quite unmolested and had apparently forgotten the incident.

But the effect of this impious contempt is not confined to legal enactment. It also became registered in the ethical code of contemporary society held by good women as well as men. Women, kindly toward all other human creatures, become hard and hostile to young girls who, in evil houses, are literally beaten and starved by the dissolute men whom they support.

Kind-hearted women could not brook these things; their hearts would break had they not been trained to believe that virtue itself demanded from them first ignorance and then harshness. Their inherited fear of the harlot and terror lest she contaminate their daughters, may be traced in the caste basis of our social amenities and in the lack of democracy and fellowship which so fatally narrows woman's interests. Yet the test comes to them none the less, for as all women fell in the estimate of religious men because they came to be looked upon as possible harlots, so may we not predict that women will never take a normal place in the moral life of society until they recognize as one of themselves the very harlot, who all unwittingly has become the test of their spirituality, the touchstone of their purity. As women were lowered in the moral scale because of their identification with her at the very bottom of the pit, so they cannot rise themselves save as they succeed in lifting her with whose sins they are weighted.

This publicity has disclosed that thousands of these so-called "fallen" women are piteously young, and that thousands of others lost their chastity when they were helpless, unthinking little girls, many of them violated by members of their own households in that crowding which life in a large tenement postulates. Even the wretched women whom we call degenerate have often been captured as children and deliberately debased.

Only last week I left at Hull House a young girl whose childish face, surrounded by old-fashioned curls, reminded me of the playmates of my earliest memory. She had been rented at the age of twelve by her mother to a notorious man in a neighboring state with whom she had remained four years, ostensibly as his daughter. Two weeks ago her mother sent her to Chicago to a white slave trader who agreed to meet her at a given place in a large railroad station. Although she had been brought across the state line in an automobile to avoid the interstate pandering laws which imply the use of a common carrier, the careful plot failed somewhere. When the man did not appear the frightened child came directly to Hull House because in the brothel kept by her mother the little girls

had been in the habit of pretending that they were related to people whose names they had seen in the newspapers, and as I had thus figured, she knew my name and address. The girl's story, which she gave most reluctantly, corroborated since by governmental officials, revealed that she had been subjected to unspeakable experience. She is still so simple and childlike that she lay awake until midnight last Friday night to see if she would feel differently when the clock struck and she should become sixteen and she gravely reported her disappointment the next morning.

Publicity thus making clear that a large number of women have entered the hideous life against their own volition, it inevitably discloses the existence of a widespread commerce organized for the profits of men. The man who owns the house, the one who procures the girls, the one styled her "protector"--the agent who supplies her clothing, all exploit her, each for his personal gain. Even the women in charge of the houses who from the days of Babylon have reaped large profits, are now becoming merely the paid agents of an organized business, much as a saloon keeper is engaged by a brewery. The girl upon whom all this activity rests, young for the most part, stands in the middle of a complex system which she does not understand. On the other hand, commercial organizations are obliged to continually trump up business in order to secure enough men to make their business profitable and they lure them through alcohol and all vicious devices designed to stimulate the senses. The success of the business which in Chicago pays its promoters fifteen million dollars a year, is founded upon the hypocrisy and self-righteousness of the decent citizen, and it continues to capture girls, to debauch young men, to spread disease and to corrupt city politics because good men do not consider it part of their religious obligation to face it openly and to undertake its abolition.

Emma Goldman

The Traffic in Women*



Emma Goldman (1869–1940), the rebellious daughter of a Russian Jewish family, emigrated to the United States while still in her teens. The Haymarket conspiracy trial and the death by hanging of four of the defendants were crucial radicalizing experiences for her. Shortly afterward she divorced the man to whom she had been briefly and unhappily married and came to New York a dedicated anarchist revolutionary.

Goldman's anarchism was founded on a passionate belief in individual freedom. Similarly, as a feminist she was not interested in legal or political "rights" but in the right of women to live as free and equal human beings. In particular, Goldman recognized the exploitation of women as sexual objects. She believed that everyone should be able to choose sexual partners without sanction of church or state.

Emma Goldman's political and sexual heresies aroused both fervent admiration and animosity; she was one of the most talked about women in the United States. She engaged in an active career as a public speaker, covering such a broad spectrum of topics as anarchism, the theater, penology, feminism and birth control. In 1916 she served a fifteen-day prison term for giving out information on contraceptives. Said a contemporary magazine: "Emma Goldman was sent to prison for advocating that women need not always keep their mouths shut and their wombs open."

Our reformers have suddenly made a great discovery—the white slave traffic. The papers are full of these "unheard-of conditions," and lawmakers are already planning a new set of laws to check the horror.

It is significant that whenever the public mind is to be diverted from a great social wrong, a crusade is inaugurated against indecency, gambling, saloons, etc. And what is the result of such crusades? Gambling is increasing, saloons are doing a lively business through back entrances, prostitution is at its height, and the system of pimps and cadets is but aggravated.

How is it that an institution, known almost to every child, should have been discovered so suddenly? How is it that this evil, known to all sociologists, should now be made such an important issue?

To assume that the recent investigation of the white slave traffic (and, by the way, a very superficial investigation) has discovered anything new, is, to say the least, very foolish. Prostitution has been, and is, a widespread evil, yet mankind goes on its business, perfectly indifferent to the sufferings and distress of the victims of prostitution. As indifferent, indeed, as mankind has remained to our industrial system, or to economic prostitution.

Only when human sorrows are turned into a toy with glaring colors will baby people become interested—for a while at least. The people are a very fickle baby that must have new toys every day. The "righteous" cry against the white slave traffic is such a toy. It serves to amuse the people for a little while, and it will help to create a few more fat political jobs—parasites who stalk about the world as inspectors, investigators, detectives, and so forth.

What is really the cause of the trade in women? Not merely white women, but yellow and black women as well. Exploitation, of course; the merciless Moloch of capitalism that fattens on underpaid labor, thus driving thousands of women and girls into prostitution. With Mrs. Warren these girls feel, "Why waste your life working for a few shillings a week in a scullery, eighteen hours a day?"

Nowhere is woman treated according to the merit of her work, but rather as a sex. It is therefore almost inevitable that she should pay for her right to exist, to keep a position in whatever line, with sex favors. Thus it is merely a question of degree whether she sells herself to one man, in or out of marriage, or to many men. Whether our reformers admit it or not, the economic and social inferiority of woman is responsible for prostitution.

Just at present our good people are shocked by the disclosures that in New York City alone, one out of every ten women works in a factory, that the average wage received by women is six dollars per week for forty-eight to sixty hours of work, and that the majority of female wage work-

Miriam Schneir (ed), *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings* (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 308–317. Reprinted, courtesy of Random House, Inc.

ers face many months of idleness which leaves the average wage about \$280 a year. In view of these economic horrors, is it to be wondered at that prostitution and the white slave trade have become such dominant factors? . . .

Dr. Alfred Blaschko, in *Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century*, is even more emphatic in characterising economic conditions as one of the most vital factors of prostitution.

"Although prostitution has existed in all ages, it was left to the nineteenth century to develop it into a gigantic social institution. The development of industry with vast masses of people in the competitive market, the growth and congestion of large cities, the insecurity and uncertainty of employment, has given prostitution an impetus never dreamed of at any period in human history."

And again Havelock Ellis, while not so absolute in dealing with the economic cause, is nevertheless compelled to admit that it is indirectly and directly the main cause. Thus he finds that a large percentage of prostitutes is recruited from the servant class, although the latter have less care and greater security. On the other hand, Mr. Ellis does not deny that the daily routine, the drudgery, the monotony of the servant girl's lot, and especially the fact that she may never partake of the companionship and joy of a home, is no mean factor in forcing her to seek recreation and forgetfulness in the gaiety and glimmer of prostitution. In other words, the servant girl, being treated as a drudge, never having the right to herself, and worn out by the caprices of her mistress, can find an outlet, like the factory or shopgirl, only in prostitution.

* * * * *

It would be one-sided and extremely superficial to maintain that the economic factor is the only cause of prostitution. There are others no less important and vital. That, too, our reformers know, but dare discuss even less than the institution that saps the very life out of both men and women. I refer to the sex question, the very mention of which causes most people moral spasms.

It is a conceded fact that woman is being reared as a sex commodity, and yet she is kept in absolute ignorance of the meaning and importance of sex. Everything dealing with that subject is suppressed, and persons who attempt to bring light into this terrible darkness are persecuted and thrown into prison. Yet it is nevertheless true that so long as a girl is not to know how to take care of herself, not to know the function of the most important part of her life, we need not be surprised if she becomes an easy prey to prostitution, or to any other form of a relationship which degrades her to the position of an object for mere sex gratification.

It is due to this ignorance that the entire life and nature of the girl is thwarted and crippled. We have long ago taken it as a self-evident fact that the boy may follow the call of the wild; that is to say, that the boy may, as soon as his sex nature asserts itself, satisfy that nature; but our moralists

As a matter of fact, prostitution is no more a safeguard for the purity of the home than rigid laws are a safeguard against prostitution. Fully fifty per cent of married men are patrons of brothels. It is through this virtuous element that the married women—nay, even the children—are infected with venereal diseases. Yet society has not a word of condemnation for the man, while no law is too monstrous to be set in motion against the helpless victim. She is not only preyed upon by those who use her, but she is also absolutely at the mercy of every policeman and miserable detective on the beat, the officials at the station house, the authorities in every prison.

In a recent book by a woman who was for twelve years the mistress of a "house," are to be found the following figures: "The authorities compelled me to pay every month fines between \$14.70 to \$29.70, the girls would pay from \$5.70 to \$9.70 to the police." Considering that the writer did her business in a small city, that the amounts she gives do not include extra bribes and fines, one can readily see the tremendous revenue the police department derives from the blood money of its victims, whom it will not even protect. Woe to those who refuse to pay their toll; they would be rounded up like cattle, "if only to make a favorable impression upon the good citizens of the city, or if the powers needed extra money on the side. For the warped mind who believes that a fallen woman is incapable of human emotion it would be impossible to realize the grief, the disgrace, the tears, the wounded pride that was ours every time we were pulled in."

* * * * *

Much stress is laid on white slaves being imported into America. How would America ever retain her virtue if Europe did not help her out? I will not deny that this may be the case in some instances, any more than I will deny that there are emissaries of Germany and other countries luring economic slaves into America; but I absolutely deny that prostitution is recruited to any appreciable extent from Europe. It may be true that the majority of prostitutes of New York City are foreigners, but that is because the majority of the population is foreign. The moment we go to any other American city, to Chicago or the Middle West, we shall find that the number of foreign prostitutes is by far a minority.

That is, they were driven into prostitution by American conditions, by the thoroughly American custom for excessive display of finery and clothes, which, of course, necessitates money,—money that cannot be earned in shops or factories.

* * * * *

We must rise above our foolish notions of "better than thou," and learn to recognize in the prostitute a product of social conditions. Such a realization will sweep away the attitude of hypocrisy, and insure a greater understanding and more humane treatment. As to a thorough eradication of prostitution, nothing can accomplish that save a complete transvaluation of all accepted values—especially the moral ones—coupled with the abolition of industrial slavery.

are scandalized at the very thought that the nature of a girl should assert itself. To the moralist prostitution does not consist so much in the fact that the woman sells her body, but rather that she sells it out of wedlock. That this is no mere statement is proved by the fact that marriage for monetary considerations is perfectly legitimate, sanctified by law and public opinion, while any other union is condemned and repudiated. Yet a prostitute, if properly defined, means nothing else than "any person for whom sexual relationships are subordinated to gain."

"Those women are prostitutes who sell their bodies for the exercise of the sexual act and make of this a profession." *

In fact, Banger goes further; he maintains that the act of prostitution is "intrinsically equal to that of a man or woman who contracts a marriage for economic reasons."

* * * * *

Society considers the sex experiences of a man as attributes of his general development, while similar experiences in the life of a woman are looked upon as a terrible calamity, a loss of honor and of all that is good and noble in a human being. This double standard of morality has played no little part in the creation and perpetuation of prostitution. It involves the keeping of the young in absolute ignorance on sex matters, which alleged "innocence," together with an overwrought and stifled sex nature, helps to bring about a state of affairs that our Puritans are so anxious to avoid or prevent.

Not that the gratification of sex must needs lead to prostitution; it is the cruel, heartless, criminal persecution of those who dare divert from the beaten track, which is responsible for it.

"The wife who married for money, compared with the prostitute," says Havelock Ellis, "is the true scab. She is paid less, gives much more in return in labor and care, and is absolutely bound to her master. The prostitute never signs away the right over her own person, she retains her freedom and personal rights, nor is she always compelled to submit to man's embrace."

COLLATERAL READING XXIV

(ACTIVITY IV)

THE PAGE BILL *

TO THE EDITOR:

In a letter to *THE SURVEY* for September 17 Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer says that "the first step in this war should be the recognition by the medical profession that single standard of morals is a possibility." I agree with Mrs. Meyer that we must first find out whether the single standard of morals is pos-

sible or not. If it is possible, then we should pass no legislation which condones a double standard of morals. If, on the other hand, there is a "sexual necessity" for men, then we should recognize that the women who minister to this "sexual necessity" are performing a valuable social service and honor them—not ostracize them.

It would seem, however, that the fact that self-control is both possible and healthful to

men had already been established. There may still be a difference of opinion on the part of some provincial medical men, who seek to excuse their own past rather than to teach the plain facts of physiology. But, with those exceptions, the stand of the medical profession is simple and definite. At the international congress held in Brussels for the prophylaxis of syphilis and the venereal diseases, in which every civilized country of the world was represented, the unanimous expression of the distinguished specialists was that "continence is not prejudicial to health, but is to be recommended from a purely hygienic point of view." The German society for the prevention of venereal diseases declared that "sexual continence is, in the unanimous opinion of the medical profession, generally not injurious to health, as is commonly supposed." Modern scientific medicine has demonstrated beyond a doubt that the degradation of women is not necessary to the health of men.

In the last part of her letter Mrs. Meyer expresses a fear that giving the vote to women would promote hasty legislation on this subject. Here again the facts are easily ascertainable. In the places where women vote, the legislation which has affected the social evil has in no case been hasty or repressive. It has all been in the direction of giving greater protection to women and so lessening the chance of their being driven into prostitution, through seduction, unendurably long hours of work, or starvation wages. In Wyoming where women have voted for forty-one years on equal terms with men, the age of protection for girls is twenty-one. In no other state is it over eighteen. In Colorado, where women have voted for seventeen years, women are allowed to work only eight hours a day (when the work is done standing). In most other states they can work from ten hours a day up. Such examples could be extended indefinitely, until in New Zealand we find that, in order to protect girls from being driven into prostitution, not only have their hours of work been shortened by law and their sanitary conditions been improved by law, but the law has fixed the minimum wage that can be paid to women.

It is suggestive to compare such laws with those of New York where women are not voters. The only recent legislation in New York in regard to the social evil has been to try to make the degradation of women a little safer for men,—and this in the face of the fact that similar legislation has proved worthless after one hundred years' trial on the continent.

KATHARINE HOUGHTON HEBURN,
Hartford, Conn.

* *The Survey*, XXV (October 1910): 79-80.

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COLLATERAL READING XXV

(ACTIVITY IV)

Who Is Guilty?

If prostitution is a crime, who are the criminals? Do people who patronize prostitutes commit a crime? Should the stigma and punishment be reserved for the prostitutes alone? Although the latter has proved to be the case, there has recently been a change in legal thinking. Although none of the judges cited here believe that prostitution is not a crime and do not advocate the abolition of prostitution laws, they feel that they must be equally enforced.

In February 1975 a California Superior Court judge ruled that the Oakland prostitution ordinance is unconstitutional because women and their customers "are not treated equally." Judge Spurgeon Avakian stated:

Since prostitution cannot exist without paying customers, it would seem that taking male customers to jail for formal booking and all that goes with it would be a much better deterrent than the citation procedure.

Oakland police in the last three years have enforced the law in such a manner that no men have been arrested and convicted for soliciting a woman to commit an act of prostitution.

In Oakland, the basic picture which emerges for the record is that, in male-female prostitution, the woman is generally arrested and quarantined for a period of one to four days.

She is tested for venereal disease and treated (if test is positive). The man is not detained. He is permitted to go his own way and, at most, is given a citation which does not involve booking, fingerprinting or bail, much less quarantine; nor does he attract the attention of the public or his family and friends which often attends the arrests and quarantine procedure.

In San Francisco in October 1975 Judge Ollie Marie-Victoire refused to hear cases against female prostitutes unless male customers were prosecuted equally. As a result of this stand, Judge Marie-Victoire was barred from hearing cases against prostitutes. She had dismissed 37 cases earlier that month because police did not attempt to arrest the male customers of the prostitutes. The judge said she bases her ruling on finding that there "is an intentional, purposeful, selective enforcement policy of the San Francisco Police Department" regarding prostitution laws. "It's depressing, degrading to see all these pitiful creatures come in day after day . . . most of them are disadvantaged females. A large percentage of them are minorities. And most of the customers are white, married middle-class affluent males."

In January 1976 the state of California's Fifth District Court of Appeals ruled that California's law barring prostitution applies to customers as well as prostitutes. "The ordinary meaning of the statute is that all persons, customers

as well as prostitutes, who solicit an act of prostitution are guilty of disorderly conduct," said the unanimous opinion written by Justice Donald R. Franson. "Sub-jecting the customer to prosecution will further the legislative purpose--probably more so than any other remedy," the opinion said.

Do these rulings mean that the laws will actually be enforced equally for both parties committing the act of prostitution--or will the women no longer be prosecuted? How will California judges deal with this issue? It remains to be seen.

COLLATERAL READING XXVI

(ACTIVITY IV)

The Oldest Profession

"The oldest profession" is the titillating term used by stand-up comics, magazines, and joke-tellers of all ages and races for prostitution. Part of the joke is the reference to something as basic as sex referred to as a profession. It is assumed by the joke-tellers that only women are involved in this profession.

The males who are the patrons or the males who are the pimps are somehow descriptively excluded when the term is used. The word "oldest" implies that bartered sex was probably the first trade in which primeval females were engaged--negating all we know of anthropology and history.

At our present point in history prostitution is another facet of our era that has been glamorized in fictional paperbacks, movies and the ads for those movies, songs, psychological studies, slick nudie magazines, and autobiographies by rich and happy prostitutes. To believe what all these sources so vividly portray is to believe that swinging sex for pay is a fun choice for women who choose that type of life.

Sandra Haggerty, a syndicated newspaper writer, a mother of teenage daughters, especially concerned about black women, has a different view of prostitution: she feels that there may be many prostitutes who come from white middle and upper class families who had other opportunities but chose prostitution as a way of life. "But large numbers of young black girls on the streets have not been so fortunate. They are acting on the immediately accessible option for maintaining life."¹ She feels that prostitution is a "natural dumping ground for uneducated and unemployed women in a male-dominated society."

The current wave of feminism is attempting to change the societal views of men about women and women about themselves. The image of woman as the temptress-sex object who must make it with men to survive is one of those images feminists are committed to change. Eliminating that age-old attitude will take time.

Sex between consenting adults should not be a crime. The fact that a disproportionate number of women wind up with criminal records (and not the pimps or male customers) makes their future choices of jobs and careers extremely limited.

Judge John M. Murtagh describes the typical "trick" (male customer) in his book *Cast the First Stone*:

Most of the men who visit prostitutes would be considered normal. They are neither too young, too old, nor too perverse for other women. Nor are they lonely men who have no women of their own. Most of them, as a matter of fact, come from the ranks of the respectably married, and usually have children. They may be young or middle-aged, poor, well-off, or rich. They are workers, professional men, and businessmen. They live in the city and outlying suburbs and take good care of their families. All of them are proud of their children and most of them claim to love their wives.

¹ Sandra Haggerty, "The Oldest Profession," *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1973.

When you ask these men who claim to love their wives so much why they go to prostitutes then--most of the married men are habitual tricks, not one-timers--they seem to have one common rationalization. "I just got drunk and I didn't know what I was doing." They sit in Women's Court and look into the faces of the women with whom they have been and honestly do not recognize them, because, they tell you, that's how drunk they were when they picked them up. Maybe they were that drunk, and again maybe they were not. Maybe they were so casual they never took a good look at the women's faces. Truly, the casualness of many married tricks, not only toward prostitutes but also toward themselves as customers, is amazing. Listening to them, one might think that men who were men *had* to look up prostitutes, that that, in effect, was the nature of the beast.²

Various legal groups and self-identified prostitutes feel that societal hypocrisy, legal discrimination against women, and bribery of law enforcement officers could be effectively eliminated if prostitution were legalized. Strict child labor laws could be invoked to keep teenagers and pre-teens from being brought into the business. In areas (Nevada) where it has been legalized, money made in the business is taxable.

Society still condemns the prostitute. Studies of "hookers" such as Kate Millet's *The Prostitution Papers* reveal their reflections on their condemnation:

The worst part about prostitution is that you're obliged not to sell sex only, but your humanity. That's the worst part of it: that what you're selling is your human dignity. Not really so much in bed, but in accepting the agreement--in becoming a bought person.

. . . the social stigma attached to prostitution is a very powerful thing. It makes a kind of total state out of prostitution so that the whore is always a whore. It's as if--you did it once, you become it.³

Sandra Haggerty sums it up as follows:

We outside find it interesting and titillating to be voyeurs. We read the books and view the films, but few of us are ready to put our daughters on the streets.

Those in the life tell me that if my daughters elected to be prostitutes, I could do nothing about it. I agree. But in the meantime, I am working hard as a parent to provide my daughters with constructive and varied experiences, sound educational backgrounds, much love, affection and a sense of belonging. I hope prostitution will not be at the top of their priority lists.

² John M. Murtagh and Sara Harris, *Cast the First Stone* (New York: Pocketbooks, Inc., 1957), pp. 158-59.

³ Kate Millet, *The Prostitution Papers: A Candid Dialogue* (New York: Avon, 1971), pp. 57, 65.

MARGARET SANGER:
*The Mother
of Birth Control*



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After a 50-year struggle, the most courageous lady
of our century has won the planned parenthood battle

by Diana L. Shaman

A LEADING Eastern college made headlines recently when its staff physician prescribed birth control pills for two students engaged to be married. The discovery caused a flurry, but left most people wondering what the fuss was all about.

Less than 50 years ago the phrase birth control did not even exist, very little was known about contraceptives, and doctors who gave patients what information they had, even if it was a matter of life or death, were liable to the severest criminal penalties.

Yet had it not been for one woman's courage and her lifetime's work, the right to plan a family and safeguard health might still not be established.

In 1912 a frail, red-headed nurse named Margaret Sanger came to her monumental decision: to fight the so-called Comstock Law which made the giving out of contraceptive information a Federal offense. Pressured through Congress in 1873 by Anthony Comstock, fanatical head of a group calling itself the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, this law in the years that followed caused suffering and deaths which can never be estimated. Hardest hit by the law were, of course, the poor. In the teeming tenements of the big cities where 3,000 people sometimes squeezed into a block,

six to a room, desperate mothers gouged themselves with knitting needles and shoe hooks, threw themselves downstairs, or, if they had five dollars, went to an abortionist—anything to prevent another baby. An estimated 25,000 died each year from abortions.

One woman's death triggered a revolution.

One July day in 1912, in the stifling heat of a New York tenement apartment, Margaret Sanger toiled with a doctor to save a woman named Sadie Sachs from the effects of a self-induced abortion. Three weeks of careful nursing pulled the patient out of danger, but when she timidly asked the doctor how to prevent another baby, he merely laughed and said, "Tell Jake to sleep on the roof."

When he was gone, Mrs. Sachs begged her nurse. "He can't understand. He's only a man. But you do, don't you? Please tell me the secret and I'll never mention it to a soul. Please."

Margaret Sanger understood only too well. Working among the poor, she had seen the heartaches caused by unwanted children and had heard similar pleas a thousand times. She had always wondered angrily why women should be denied the knowledge which could save them such misery—and their very lives.

But she didn't know the secret either. She could only give helpless comfort. Three months later Jake Sachs called on her. His wife was sick—another abortion try. When Margaret reached her, Mrs. Sachs was in a coma. Ten minutes later she was dead.

That night, Margaret walked the streets for hours. "It was the dawn of a new day in my life," she wrote later. "I went to bed knowing that no matter what it might cost . . . I was resolved to seek out the root of evil, to do something to change the destiny of mothers whose miseries were vast as the sky."

She could have been content as the wife of William Sanger, a talented architect, with her three children and the opportunity to channel her restless energy into nursing. Others were agitating for man's basic rights; Margaret felt family planning was among the most important—and the most neglected. It was, she decided, her destiny to do what she could.

Impatiently she dismissed the promises of the suffragettes who were willing to wait for answers to such questions until women got the vote. Neither could she listen to her husband, who begged her to consider the children, pleading, "Don't do anything to spoil their happiness, will you?" She was deaf to friends who warned her what the consequences might be. "Anthony Comstock will get you. You'll be breaking the law," they said.

Comstock, as special agent for the Post Office Department, had already engineered a 10 year sentence at Leavenworth for a Midwest physi-

cian who had sent out contraceptive information. Said Margaret contemptuously: "Shall we look upon a piece of parchment as greater than human happiness, greater than human life?"

The first thing she set out to do was to discover the "secret" of preventing conception. For hours she studied medical texts at various libraries. But she found no answer. She asked physicians, "Why don't you do something about it?"

The standard answer was: "The people you're worrying about wouldn't use contraceptives if they had them. Besides, there's a law against it."

"Information does exist, doesn't it?" Margaret persisted.

"Perhaps, but I doubt if you can find it," she was told.

She knew one place to look. France. She had heard that French women had planned their families since the days of the Revolution. In October, 1913, somehow getting the finances together, the Sangers sailed for Europe. Money, always critically short in the years to come, was never a problem for Margaret. "I do things first and somehow or another they get paid for," she always said.

In Paris, Margaret found that family planning was an accepted part of life. Margaret spoke tirelessly to doctors, midwives, druggists, and to the women themselves. She collected the best formulas and the latest techniques and bought the most efficient devices. She was burning to get back to the United States to broadcast what she had learned to the women there.

Now came the first of many per-



Margaret Sanger as she appeared in 1934 testifying before Senate sub-committee.

sonal sacrifices. William Sanger wanted to stay in Paris to paint. Margaret and the children went home alone. It was the end of her marriage.

The first thing she did on returning to the United States was to sound out the Comstock Law by publishing a monthly magazine called *The Woman Rebel*. She wasn't ready to violate the law openly by publishing the precious information she had gathered. She confined herself to a full-fledged attack on Comstock, appealed to women to emancipate themselves biologically and promised to publish contraceptive information in future issues.

Her rebellion, already attracting a large circle of well-wishers and participants, had to have a name. Rejecting such terms as voluntary parenthood, new motherhood, constructive generation, new generation, Margaret and her group hit on a phrase they liked: birth control.

Although it published nothing illegal, *Rebel* was banned from the mails within a month. If Margaret

continued publication, she faced a possible prison term of five years and a \$5,500 fine. In the magazine she had defined as a woman's duty: "To look the world in the face with a go-to-hell look in the eyes; to have an idea; to speak and act in defiance of convention." She was not about to let the United States Government tell her to do otherwise. She continued the magazine, wanting to reach as many women as possible before copies were confiscated.

The response was overwhelming. The first thousands of letters which would eventually number over a million pleading for specific contraceptive techniques, were pouring into her makeshift office. Instead of ceasing publication, *The Woman Rebel* became a best-seller overnight.

But the magazine, radical as it was to others, was merely "window dressing" to Margaret. Her goal was to publish actual contraceptive techniques. She gathered together everything she had learned in a pamphlet and called it "Family Limitation." She found a courageous printer who

agreed to run off 100,000 copies. These were wrapped, addressed and stored in various key cities for distribution when Margaret gave the word. Shortly thereafter, as she had expected, she was arraigned for continuing to publish *Rebel*. She had wanted a test case.

But by now it was August, 1914, and people were concerned with the war in Europe. Margaret decided that for the moment she had to avoid the trial at all costs. So leaving the children with relatives, she fled to Europe. After three days at sea she made a final break with the law. Wiring friends, she asked them to begin distribution of "Family Limitation."

Before long, "Family Limitation" would be translated into 13 languages, 10 million copies would be printed and thousands of others painfully copied so the information could be passed from hand to hand.

The year she spent abroad, Margaret's ideas changed significantly. She realized for the first time that the fight for birth control went beyond the need of the individual. At stake were a nation's whole health and economic status. She felt a prosperous nation wouldn't feel the need to fight a war.

In Amsterdam, she visited the world's first birth control clinic which had been established there by Dr. Aletta Jacobs and Dr. Johannes Rutgers. When she left Europe in October, 1915, she was determined to set up just such clinics in the United States, where women could come for instruction.

During her absence, the phrase "birth control" had become an

American household word. Public interest and indignation had been aroused by an ironic incident. William Sanger, who had returned to the United States, had been tricked by Comstock into handing out a copy of "Family Limitation" which had been lying around in a drawer. Sanger was brought to trial, fined and sentenced to 30 days in jail. He was a public hero and a public martyr.

This time, Comstock had gone too far. The climate for Margaret's own trial could not have been better. But before her case was even re-opened, she suffered a personal blow from which she never quite recovered. Her daughter Peggy, only 4 years old, came down with pneumonia and died a few days after Margaret's return.

The tragedy, Margaret's determination to carry on the fight nevertheless, the change in public opinion, all contributed to sending an avalanche of letters down on the heads of the judge and district attorney who were handling her case. Comstock was gone—he had caught a chill at Sanger's trial and died.

Suddenly, the Government became very reluctant to pursue the matter further, and after postponing the trial several times finally dismissed the charge. Margaret was free of the threat of imprisonment, but nothing had been settled. The law had not been tested.

She put it to a further test soon enough. After a lecture tour of the United States, she went back to New York and established this country's first birth control clinic in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

The law specifically stated that no one may give out contraceptive information to anyone for any reason. Margaret couldn't find a doctor courageous enough to head the clinic, so she ran it herself with the help of her sister, Ethel, also a registered nurse, and a Chicago woman named Fania Mindell.

At 7 A.M. of the clinic's first day, the line of women stretched around the block. They kept coming all day and long into the evening until the exhausted trio had to turn them away. The next morning, Yiddish and Italian papers carried the story and the women started coming from as far away as Pennsylvania and the far end of Long Island.

Their stories were the same ones Margaret had experienced in her nursing days in the slums of the East Side. One woman, the mother of eight, who had had two abortions and countless miscarriages, summed up their collective desperation. "If you don't help me," she said to Margaret, "I'm going to chop up glass and swallow it tonight."

Ten days after the clinic opened, Margaret, Ethel and Miss Mindell were arrested. Released on bail, Margaret was able to operate the clinic a few more days until the police closed it up for good. As she was taken to the police station the second time, one of the women, who had been standing in line, abandoned her baby carriage and ran after the patrol wagon screaming, "Come back. Come back and save me."

Margaret served 30 days in a local jail, but she made the most of the time by teaching the other pris-

oners about birth control. Prison was grim, but Margaret would have been jubilant if she had known in advance what results the Brownsville clinic case was destined to bring.

Her attorney had appealed her conviction. When the case was brought to the Court of Appeals, the highest appeals court in the state, in January, 1918, Judge Frederick E. Crane drove the first wedge into the Comstock Law. He upheld Margaret's conviction but gave one significant section of the law a much broader interpretation. From now on, a physician could give contraceptive advice to a married woman if he felt it was of benefit to her health.

The decision was a major victory. Margaret had actually accomplished what she had first set out to do. Never again could a woman be denied the information she had a right to have.

Despite the Crane decision, people of influence and the medical profession itself were still reluctant to commit themselves on the birth control issue. It was still a radical idea. Margaret wanted to make it the accepted one. She wanted to broadcast her message not only at home, but to the whole world. She set out on an exhausting tour of speaking engagements only to run headlong into a new enemy—the Roman Catholic Church.

The church had been attacking the birth control movement intermittently for years; but not until 1921 was open war declared. Archbishop (later Cardinal) Joseph Patrick Hayes, using his influence over the New York Police Department, had

them close up one of Margaret's meetings. The newspapers, many of which had been describing her as a "fanatic" and a "crackpot," saw in this an open violation of the freedom of speech, and overnight their editorial policies changed. Headlines on the birth control movement were suddenly favorable.

The Archbishop, realizing his blunder, tried to defend the church's stand. He argued that Benjamin Franklin might never have been born since he was a 15th child. Margaret argued back that Isaac was an only child, and so was John the Baptist. The Archbishop thundered that birth control violated the laws of nature. Margaret pointed out gently that so did nuns and priests who practiced celibacy. Put on the defensive before it could launch a successful attack, the church never really posed a serious threat.

Through it all, Margaret was constantly lecturing. By now a large group was behind her. Invitations to speak came pouring in from all parts of the country and all parts of the world. Her travels took her through Europe, then Japan and China. The Orient with its vast population problems was already becoming more of a challenge to her than had been the United States. International conferences, organized mainly by Mrs. Sanger, also began to be held all over the world. The American Birth Control League was organized and legally incorporated.

Another significant step was the opening of the Clinical Research Bureau in New York, in 1923. The successor to the Brownsville clinic, the Bureau had an important dif-

ference. At its head was a doctor: Hannah Stone. Dr. Stone's willingness to risk her professional career for something she believed in—she was immediately dismissed from a hospital post when she agreed to head the Bureau—helped significantly in overcoming the qualms of other doctors. In 1925 alone, over 10,000 letters came flooding in from doctors requesting birth control information.

By 1930 there were 55 birth control clinics in 23 cities and 12 states. Impressed by what the Clinical Research Bureau was doing, Dr. Robert L. Dickinson, considered the dean of American gynecologists, agreed to join its advisory board. Margaret was elated.

Then another legal victory: A sudden police raid on the Bureau in 1929 again resulted in a court decision that a physician had the right to give contraceptive advice.

In 1931, a resolution supporting birth control was passed by the New York Academy of Medicine. Other health and medical associations, as well as educational, civic and religious groups, began endorsing family planning. However, hard work on the part of Margaret and her associates to get the Comstock Law amended was not successful. Once more victory came through the courts. In 1936, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals pulled the law's last teeth by decreeing that physicians could mail what was needed "for the purpose of saving life or promoting the well-being of their patients." This decision removed the last legal obstacles to the dissemination of birth control information. The following year brought

a crowning triumph. The American Medical Association came out firmly in support of birth control.


But there was and is still opposition to birth control. Until June 7, 1965, there was a law on the statute books of the State of Connecticut forbidding married couples from using contraceptives under pain of fine or imprisonment. This law was finally successfully challenged by Planned Parenthood Federation of America and declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. In Massachusetts it is still illegal for a doctor to give a patient birth control information, or for anyone to manufacture or sell contraceptives within the state.

Margaret Sanger, now 72, having worked tirelessly until the late 1950's, lives today in Tucson, Arizona. Because of illness she is unable to fight any more.

A few of the many recent fruits of her labor follow: Adlai Stevenson's statement to the United Nations in 1963 that the United States pledged itself to help other countries deal with the problems of population growth. The amendment in 1963 to our Foreign Aid Bill, authorizing foreign aid funds for the population problem. The announcement in 1965 that Federal funds would be made available to states and localities that wish to provide maternal health services, including birth control information. The fact that former Presidents Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower are co-chairmen of the 1965 drive of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. The promise of President Lyndon B. Johnson in his 1965 State

of the Union message to "seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population." And the 1965 Supreme Court decision overturning the Connecticut law.

Someone wrote of Margaret Sanger once: "No reformer has lived to see the things she stood for so completely brought about." But Margaret herself was never satisfied with the results. She always looked for bigger and better accomplishments. She was, on the whole, bitterly disappointed with the progress of the birth control movement in the United States, feeling that India, Japan and China more fully appreciated her ideas. She did as much as any one person should be asked to do in a lifetime. But her dissatisfaction was another facet of her nature. She was one of those rare individuals whom the rest of us, for want of a better term, call a crusader.

As fitting a definition of her as any is given by the younger of her two doctor sons, Grant Sanger of Presbyterian Medical Center in New York: "One thing about my mother that to me was most impressive was her utmost concentration on the problem. From the time she started this business until she finished, she never deviated. Not into woman's suffrage, not into the labor movement, not into anything. She always stayed right with it. Her entire life was devoted to it. She would maybe go out for an evening, but it was just for the evening. Then back to it again. If you believe that concentration on a problem is the way to bring results, then my mother is the best example that I know." 

COLLATERAL READING XXVIII

(ACTIVITY V)

TIME, MAY 30, 1955
Pp. 44-45

"BE A DANIEL!!"



Library of Congress

Mary McLeod Bethune
"I just love people."

She was a Negro and virtually a pauper, but plucky little Mary McLeod Bethune was also a dreamer. In 1904, with only \$1.50 in cash, she started a school for Negro girls in Daytona Beach, Florida, and then she wanted none other than Soap Tycoon James N. Gamble, son of the founder of Proctor & Gamble, to be a trustee. "But where," asked Gamble as he gazed at her shacklike building on the former city dump known as Hell's Hole, "is this school of which you wish me to be a trustee?" "In my mind," replied Mary Bethune. "And in my soul."

James Gamble soon learned that nothing on earth could stop Mary Bethune. She not only got her school, she also became something of a legend in her lifetime. A devout Methodist, she would start each morning with a prayer, e.g., "With this new day, O God, let some new strength be mine." And each day, some new strength was indeed hers, until Mary Bethune became known throughout the nation as the First Lady of her race.

Piercing Eyes. The daughter of two former slaves and one of 17 children, she was born in a log cabin near Mayesville, S.C. At nine she could pick as much as 250 lbs. of cotton a day; at eleven she began her daily five-mile trudge to school at a small Presbyterian mission. At 15, she boarded a train for the first time in her life and set off for the Scotia Seminary in Concord, N.C., and later to the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. There she found herself the only Negro in a sea of strangers. "White people's eyes pierced me," said she. "Some of them were kind eyes; others would like to be but were still afraid."

After graduation she taught in Georgia, married a fellow schoolteacher, Albert Bethune, moved on to Daytona Beach. By that time she already had plans for a school of her own. To raise money, she baked sweet potato pies and sold them from door to door. She peddled fried fish, sang in local hotels. She borrowed charcoal slivers for pencils. When the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute opened, its student body was five girls and her son.

With the help of James Gamble and other men of means, it grew into a flourishing secondary school and later, after merging with the neighboring Cookman Institute for Men, into a full-fledged four-year coeducational campus. Bethune-Cookman's assets rose to more than \$3,500,000, its enrollment to 750, its faculty to 52. Meanwhile, Mrs. Bethune was making a name for herself in other ways. "Be a Daniel!" she urged her followers. "Take the vow of courage."

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"I Believe in You." Her plump figure, invariably supported by a favorite cane, became a familiar one at Negro rallies throughout the United States. She founded the National Council of Negro Women (more than 800,000 members), was special adviser to Franklin Roosevelt on minority problems ("Mrs. Bethune, I believe in you"), served as special assistant to the Secretary of War on WAC training. In all her work, she was a symbol and part of the progress of the Negro race itself. "Now," she once said, "I have come to the point where I can embrace all humanity--not just the people of my race or another race. I just love people."

Last week, when Mary Bethune died in Daytona Beach at 79, just one year after the United States Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the schools, she had seen her greatest dream come true. "There is," she once said, "no such thing as Negro education--only education. I want my people to prepare themselves bravely for life, not because they are Negroes, but because they are men."

LOS ANGELES TIMES, May 17, 1974, Part IV, pp. 1, 6, col. 1

The Mother of Ecology

BY CHERYL BENTSEN
Times Staff Writer



Ellen Swallow

Ellen Henrietta Swallow may hold the world's all-time record in the category of First Woman to...

So extensive were her breakthroughs into formerly all-male territory that a complete list would be not only staggering but tiresome. By decade you get an idea.

During the 1870s she was a member of the first graduating class of Vassar College for Women, the first woman admitted to MIT, the first to receive a degree. She was the first woman to hold a faculty position at a science school, the first woman mineralogist and the founder of the first Women's Science Laboratory at MIT. She might have been the school's first woman doctorate, too, but the administration was afraid to award its first DS in chemistry to a woman rather than a man, for fear its reputation would suffer in status.

They were very clever about the entire "Swallow Experiment," admitting her without charge so that if things did not work out, she could be dismissed without a fuss. She was not allowed to study with her male colleagues at first and grew accustomed to passages quoted to her from Dr. Edward H. Clarke's *Sex in Education* published in 1873, detailing gruesome accounts of educated women whose reproductive organs withered under the ordeal.

A faculty committee voted to keep her name out of the student catalog for a time, viewing her as some kind of freak in their midst. And when nobody would tell her what the letters AOM on her papers meant, she finally figured it out: an old maid.

Nonetheless, Miss Swallow, described as "small, compactly built and absolutely unafraid," became internationally known as the First Lady of Science, developing the interdisciplinary science she called Oekology--now known as ecology.

But don't try to find her in the Encyclopedia Britannica--she's not there. Somehow male history lost sight of her contributions.

But her story is told by Robert Clarke in his book *Ellen Swallow*, subtitled *The Woman Who Founded Ecology* (Follett Publishing Co., \$7.95). Clarke, 43, a former public relations person, is co-founder of the International Institute of Euthenics, a nonprofit think-tank operation based in Chicago that studies environmental problems.

He rediscovered Ellen Swallow, who died in 1911, in the early '60s when he worked in community planning, looking for information about euthenics, the science of bettering human living conditions.

"When I first heard the word I could find little evidence of it until I found a book she had written in 1910 called *Euthenics: The Science of a Controllable Environment*. But I thought she was a man because her work was signed E. H. Richards. (They stopped marking her papers OAM when she married her professor, Robert Richards, a world-famous mineralogist.) When I found out it was a woman who discovered ecology it really knocked me out and I wanted to do a book on her."

An Activity

Seven years were spent researching. "MIT had a lot of her work," he said, "but the ecology connection was completely buried and I came across it by accident while giving a lecture in Boston.

"The Boston Globe was running some pages from old newspapers and one from 1892 had the headline 'Mrs. Richards Names It Oekology,' and just below that 'Tis the Art of First Class Living.' I couldn't believe it was the same person. That led me back to 1873 when she did the first water and air pollution tests and the food studies."

He discovered that she was active in the women's rights movement, especially where it concerned education. She set up the Women's Science Laboratory at MIT in 1876 to teach women science, especially women teachers.

"To give them work she picked out, probably by necessity at the time, rather than concept, things that had to do with the home because that was the only place where a woman had any application," Clarke said. "So they studied foods, textiles, composition of wallpaper (they found arsenic in it) and such things."

Miss Swallow believed that environmental science began in the home and should spread from there.

Her home was a model. She and her husband tore out windows, built and installed ventilation, heating, water disposal systems--all radical innovations of the day.

Became Consultant

But she never accepted relegation to women's traditional place. She became the first woman science consultant to industry when she discovered that the cause of factory explosions could often be traced to fast running machinery igniting oil. She founded the profession of dietetics and instituted nutritionally planned school lunches in Boston's public schools where previously they had been prepared by janitors.

But the Oekology movement of the 19th century never realized the scope she envisioned.

Clarke speculates that her reforms went too far, too fast and as a result she was often dismissed as an agitator. When her followers met for a conference at Lake Placid in 1908 they voted to call themselves home economists, as the movement had become concerned mostly with the home. Miss Swallow resigned from the group in order to work on the broader field of eugenics.

Perspective Lost

"Paradoxically, just as her name was lost from the record of environmental science at MIT, home economics lost the environmental perspective she intended," Clarke said.

Narrow vision is still the major problem of the ecology movement today, he says. He cites reaction to the energy crisis and controversy over the role of genetics in human development as examples.

"I don't understand the inability of people to see the energy crisis as the environmental crisis," he said. "They turn away from the environmental movement because the energy crisis comes along, when it is exactly the same."

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"The environment is in bad shape today because the environmental sciences that were given to us in the 19th century weren't followed through and that is because the hereditists and the environmentalists had a fight and the hereditists being at the top of the scientific ladder and closer to the church had it over the environmentalists and so they were pushed aside."

Clarke began research on his book slightly before the current women's movement got into full swing.

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Even people who aren't upset about me writing the book ask me why I did it," he said. "I tell them that I had never read anyone who put it all together in such a simple framework as she did."

"During the first years of our organization we were all-male and we really thought we had all the answers. But then we found out that it was a woman who founded eugenics, and that she had said everything we were talking about in a much more simplified way and had tried to apply it and was successful to a point until men in high places slapped her down."

Clarke is not really surprised that a woman founded the ecology movement. He sees women's involvement as traditional.

"Woman is the first environment of man. There is the ultimate microcosm of the physical, social and perceptual environments," he said. "To learn cooperation, to learn interdependence was the source of human culture and the thing that pulled them together was communications and that began physically at the mother's breast."

But will the movement fade as it did during Ellen Swallow's time?

"It won't make any difference. If it is defeated it will come back on us. It is not going away. It may change; people who are involved now may drop out and go into other things, as they have because of the energy crisis. But I am an optimist. I think there are enough people who understand it and will come to understand it--men and women."

COLLATERAL READING XXX

(ACTIVITY V)

DIX, Dorothea Lynde (Apr. 4, 1802--July 18, 1887), humanitarian crusader for the mentally ill, superintendent of army nurses during the Civil War, was born in the frontier village of Hampden, Maine (then part of Massachusetts), the eldest child and only daughter of Joseph and Mary (Bigelow) Dix. She was the granddaughter of Elijah Dix, a well-to-do Boston physician, chemical manufacturer, and land promoter, and Dorothy (Lynde) Dix, of a leading Worcester family. Elijah's son Joseph had dropped out of Harvard to marry Mary Bigelow, a Sudbury woman eighteen years his senior, apparently uneducated and uncouth. To give him a livelihood, his father sent him to manage the settlements he was developing in Maine, but Joseph Dix proved unequal to farming and the land business and drifted to other occupations, meanwhile taking up an itinerant Methodist ministry.

Dorothea's childhood was unhappy, marred by the frequent absences of her improvident father and the semi-invalidism of her mother, which threw upon her the care of her two young brothers. Occasional visits to her grandparents in Boston gave her a desire for education and heightened her dissatisfaction with life in Hampden. When twelve years old she went to Boston to live with her now-widowed grandmother, who two years later, finding the headstrong child too great a responsibility, turned her over to a great-aunt in Worcester. Here the girl studied avidly, and, though only fourteen, revealed an aptitude for teaching by opening a school for small children. She was a stern disciplinarian but appears to have made a success of her precocious educational venture.

In 1819 she returned to Boston to be with her aging grandmother. Two years later, while assiduously furthering her own education through private study, public lecture courses, and patronage of Boston's libraries, she opened a "dame school" for young girls. She also taught at a "monitorial school" operated by a Mr. Fowle. In 1824 she published a small elementary science textbook, *Conversations on Common Things*, which was well received and went through many editions. Her deeply religious nature, increasingly influenced by Unitarianism, found expression in *Hymns for Children*, an anthology of uplifting poetry, some of it apparently her own, which she published in 1825.

Though an attractive young woman with blue eyes and luxuriant, wavy brown hair, she affected the long, somber dresses, stern expression, and severe hair arrangement then thought befitting to a schoolmistress. The resultant austerity clung to her throughout her life. One of her pupils, Mary Channing Eustis, has left a picture of her as "tall and dignified, but stooped somewhat, . . . very shy in her manners," and "fond of natural history and botany. She enjoyed long rambles, always calling our attention to what was of interest in the world around us." She particularly recalled her teacher's "iron will from which it was hopeless to appeal" (Tiffany, p. 34).

In 1822 an engagement to a much older cousin, Edward Bangs, was broken under unclear circumstances; other suitors (including, when she was past forty, an Amherst divinity student) were firmly turned aside. The need for friendship was partially met through a long and intimate correspondence with another Boston spinster, Ann Heath. Miss Dix drove herself incessantly until 1824, when exhaustion and incipient tuberculosis forced a rest. Several summers spent at Narragansett Bay as governess for the family of her friend William Ellery Channing, the Unitarian

leader, and a winter with the Channings at St. Croix in the Virgin Islands (1830-31) partially restored her health and deepened her commitment to Unitarian principles. When unable to teach, she turned to writing, producing *Meditations for Private Hours* (1828), *American Moral Tales for Young Persons* (1832), and several other short works of a devotional and poetic nature. In 1831 she opened a new school in Boston and conducted it successfully for a time, but in 1836, despite periodic winter rests in the South, she suffered a nervous and physical collapse.

On her doctor's orders she went to England, where, at Channing's suggestion, she spent eighteen happy months at the Liverpool estate of William Rathbone, a wealthy Unitarian merchant and philanthropist. Here she met leading British reformers, perhaps including Dr. Samuel Tuke, son of the founder of York Retreat, a progressive Quaker institution for the mentally ill. She returned to America in 1837, but her health remained too precarious to permit teaching. Living on a small income from her grandmother's estate (the elder Mrs. Dix died that year), for several years she traveled, visited friends, and drifted toward the aimless and sterile existence which was frequently the lot of the nineteenth-century New England spinster.

One day in March 1841, however, a young Harvard divinity student asked her to teach a Sunday school class for women in the East Cambridge jail. As the thirty-nine-year-old Miss Dix set out on a cold and raw Sunday, she little realized that this was to be a turning point in her life. To her horror, she found among the drunkards, vagrants, and prostitutes a number of unkempt and shivering women whose only crime was insanity. Their quarters were foul, bare, and unheated. The jailer's response that "lunatics" had no sense of cold incensed her, and she brought the matter before the local court then in session. The philanthropist Samuel Gridley Howe came to her aid in a newspaper article, and despite angry denials of her charges, heat was provided for the deranged women and their quarters were renovated. More important, Dorothea Dix had found a vocation.

As she studied the subject she realized the picture was not entirely black. Advanced medical and humanitarian circles had long since rejected the view that the insane were fit only for jails, chains, and cages. York Retreat in England had been matched in Paris by Bicetre mental hospital, where Philippe Pinel in the 1790's had introduced humane methods of treatment. In America, Philadelphia Quakers had pioneered in the establishment of a mental hospital in the eighteenth century, and Boston's private McLean Hospital, where those mental patients whose families could afford it were given intelligent care, had opened in 1818. The Hartford Retreat, a similar semi-public institution in Connecticut, dated from 1824. In 1835 Massachusetts, prodded by Horace Mann, had opened a model public mental institution at Worcester, and in 1839, through the efforts of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, the "Boston Lunatic Asylum" had been built. But such facilities were the rare exception and remained wholly inadequate to the need. For most mentally disturbed persons in 1840, particularly among the poor and uneducated, the prospect was either virtual imprisonment by an embarrassed family or actual imprisonment under revolting conditions.

As Miss Dix grasped the scope of the problem, she undertook, with Samuel Gridley Howe's encouragement and the blessing of the aged Channing, an eighteen-month survey of every jail, almshouse, and house of correction in Massachusetts. Each day's investigation brought new evidence of neglect and cruelty. In her notebook

she recorded the shocking details of unfortunate persons "confined . . . in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens! Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience." In January 1843 she prepared a memorial for the legislature unfolding a sordid panorama of cruelty, filth, and disease. "I come to place before the Legislature of Massachusetts the condition of the miserable, the desolate, the outcast," she began. The memorial, introduced by Dr. Howe, effectively alternated general appeals to conscience with terse and detailed factual statements such as: *Medford*. One idiot subject chained, and one in a close stall for seventeen years." After weeks of countercharges, argument, and debate, in which Howe, Charles Sumner, and Horace Mann championed her cause, the legislature appropriated the necessary funds to expand the facilities at Worcester so that the state's mentally ill might receive proper care and treatment.

Heartened by this success and now totally committed to her crusade, Miss Dix moved farther afield. First she investigated neighboring Rhode Island, and then New York. In January 1844 she presented a memorial to the New York legislature based on her personal investigation of more than fifty county homes and recommending the construction of several new institutions for the care of the mentally ill. In both states she succeeded in breaking down resistance and securing funds for additional facilities. In 1844-45 she moved into New Jersey, and, despite bitter opposition, conducted a successful campaign for the establishment of a mental hospital, the state's first, at Trenton. She helped design the building and dubbed it "my first-born child."

For the next three years, though plagued by illness, she covered 30,000 miles in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, and other states, painstakingly conducting her investigations and preparing for the state legislatures her now-famous "memorials." Though less extensive than her earlier reports and eventually somewhat routinized, these memorials marshaled sufficient evidence of neglect and abuse to shame most legislatures into action. She sometimes remained in a state until the appropriations for new facilities had been made, and on occasion had the pleasure of selecting the site for a new hospital.

Her work was now widely publicized, and enlightened leaders in various states vied for her assistance. Her name became a household word; railroad and steamship companies honored her with passes, and her parcels to benevolent institutions were dispatched free of charge. Her earlier shyness remained, and she rarely spoke in public, but in her writings she often achieved true eloquence.

Reformers in other causes also sought her support. She had seen much of the effect of prison life upon ordinary convicts as well as the mentally ill, and from her experiences she wrote, with the encouragement of Horace Mann, *Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline in the United States* (1845), which anticipated many reforms later adopted by penologists, including the education of prisoners and the separation of various types of offenders. She was instrumental in the establishment of a school for the blind in Illinois in 1848. Generally, however, despite her personal sympathy for such causes as woman's rights, peace, temperance, and public education, she was not active in other reform movements of the day, fearing that such involvement might be inimical to her central interest in the mentally ill.

She shrewdly utilized for her own purposes the rising antislavery sentiment by pointing out to abolitionists the inconsistency of fighting a distant evil while tolerating abuses in their own neighborhoods.

Gradually her attention turned to the national legislature. She conceived the idea of setting aside some of the land of the public domain as a perpetual trust, the income to be used for the care of the insane. In 1848 Senator John A. Dix of New York presented her memorial, persuasive as always, asking Congress to set aside five million acres (the figure was later increased to twelve million) for this purpose. But although she moved to Washington and lobbied vigorously for the proposal, it was set aside. For six years, between her visits to various states, she worked in Washington for this measure. Each session saw it introduced, only to fail. Her hopes soared when it was at last approved by both houses of Congress in 1854, but they were dashed when President Pierce vetoed the bill, on the grounds that the subject more properly fell to the states.

Exhausted and disappointed, Miss Dix went abroad to recuperate. Her burning interest in the mentally ill did not abate, however. When her investigations in Scotland were thwarted by local officials, she prevailed upon the British government to establish a Scotch Lunacy Commission empowered to conduct an official inquiry. She visited prisons and hospitals in the Channel Islands, France, Turkey, Russia, and other countries. Shocked at conditions within the shadow of the Vatican, she secured an interview with Pope Pius IX, who made a personal investigation and in a second meeting assured her that improvements would be made. On her return to the United States in 1856 she resumed the now familiar life of widespread travel, investigation, and lobbying for funds from legislatures.

With the coming of the Civil War, Dorothea Dix volunteered her services. She was appointed superintendent of army nurses on June 10, 1861, and thus began the most frustrating and controversial phase of her long career. "Miss Dix," wrote Dr. Emily Blackwell when she heard the news, "though in many respects an estimable and sensible woman, is deficient in the power of organization, and has no idea of the details of Hospital management. . . . I think there cannot fail to be much confusion" (quoted in Elinor Rice Hays, *Those Extraordinary Blackwells*, 1967, pp. 147-48). Responsible for appointing and supervising all women army nurses, she set about at once recruiting competent, mature personnel and weeding out those who impressed her as merely romantic adventurers. Soon controversy erupted when she refused to accept qualified nuns and other members of religious sisterhoods. In another famous edict she barred all applicants younger than thirty and declared: "All nurses are required to be plain looking women." She took her supervisory duties literally, and carefully controlled the volunteer nurses as they arrived in Washington. "She is a kind old soul, but very queer and arbitrary," wrote one of them, Louisa May Alcott.

Years of watching legislators and officials bow before the storm of her righteous indignation had not fitted Miss Dix for the role of quiet administrator. Taking the entire wartime medical establishment as her province, she helped set up and staff infirmaries in the Washington area; issued detailed instructions to volunteer sewing societies; helped stockpile incoming medical supplies; and issued a call for contributions of canned fruit when scurvy threatened the army in the West. But criticism mounted when she visited hospitals and demanded the dismissal of volunteer nurses not appointed by her, became involved in acrimonious disputes with hospital administrators regarding her nurses' duties, and

made public and caustic protests when a hospital or its staff did not meet her rigorous standards. With her trips away from Washington and her involvement in countless petty details, she lost that broad view of her duties that successful administration demands. Friction between her office, the Medical Bureau, the United States Sanitary Commission, and the doctors in the field grew more intense until October 1863, when an order of the Secretary of War sharply undercut her position by granting the Surgeon General, as well as Miss Dix, power to appoint nurses and by emphasizing that nurses were subordinate to the medical officers in the various hospitals. She remained faithfully at her post, however, until September 1866, when she returned to private life. Her imperiousness had undoubtedly magnified her difficulties, but many of her criticisms were justified, and some of the friction was the inevitable result of chaotic wartime conditions.

After the war Miss Dix resumed her visitation of hospitals and prisons, particularly in the South, where many had been damaged. But she was aging now, and her great work lay in the past. Her waning energy was often expended on a variety of lesser good works: soliciting clothing for orphans' homes and disaster victims, raising funds for public drinking fountains in Boston, and working for the completion of the Washington Monument. In October 1881, travel-worn and ill, she retired to the Trenton, N.J., state hospital she had helped bring into existence thirty-five years earlier. Though suffering from arteriosclerosis and failing faculties, she lived on for six years and rallied from time to time to receive visits from old friends and acknowledge tributes from many sources. She died there in 1885 at the age of eighty-three and was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass.

Few women have been so identified with a single cause, and with such good reason, as has Dorothea Dix with that of the mentally ill. In 1843 there were thirteen mental hospitals in the United States; by 1880, 123. She played a direct role in the founding of thirty-two state mental hospitals and was the inspiration for many more in America and throughout the world. Her views on the nature of mental illness reflected the state of medical knowledge in her day; while opposing the indiscriminate use of physical restraints and favoring therapeutic rather than merely custodial treatment, she displayed but slight interest in psychiatric training or research. Nevertheless, by directing her considerable skills as a publicist against primitive and obviously unwise methods, she helped lay the groundwork for advances in psychiatric diagnosis and treatment. The idea of a federal land trust for the benefit of the insane, on which she expended so much apparently fruitless time and energy, was perhaps impractical, but it did dramatize her fundamentally sound conviction that America's mentally ill constituted a grave problem which society could no longer ignore.

[The standard biography is Helen E. Marshall, *Dorothea Dix: Forgotten Samaritan* (1937), based on extensive research in manuscript and other sources. The most important collection of Miss Dix's papers is in the Houghton Library, Harvard Univ. See also the earlier biography, Francis Tiffany, *Dorothea L. Dix* (1890); Daniel H. Tuke, *Chapters on the Hist. of the Insane in the British Isles* (1882)

and *The Insane in the U.S. and Canada* (1885); Henry M. Hurd, ed., *Institutional Care of the Insane in the U.S. and Canada* (4 vols., 1916-17); Norman Dain, *Concepts of Insanity in the U.S., 1789-1865* (1964), pp. 165-77. Recent interpretations of Miss Dix include Gladys Brooks, *Three Wise Virgins* (1957); and Robin McKown, *Pioneers in Mental Health* (1961).]

Helen E. Marshall*

*James, *op. cit.*, I, 486-489.

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COLLATERAL READING XXXII

(ACTIVITY V)

JONES, Mary Harris (May 1, 1830—Nov. 30, 1930), labor agitator, known as "Mother" Jones, was born in Cork, Ireland, to Richard and Helen Harris. Her father emigrated to the United States in 1835 and, on acquiring citizenship, arranged for his wife and children to follow him. Mary Harris attended common school and normal school in Toronto, Canada, where her father took the family while he worked as a railroad construction laborer. She first taught in a convent in Monroe, Michigan, but soon went to Chicago to operate a dressmaking business. She was drawn back into teaching in Memphis, Tennessee, and there in 1861 was married to "a staunch member" of the Iron Molders' Union named Jones. Her husband and their four small children died in an epidemic of yellow fever that ravaged Memphis in 1867. After serving as a volunteer nurse until the disease was halted, the bereft widow returned to Chicago and resumed dressmaking. As she worked on the clothes of families of wealth, she began to resent economic and social inequities. Burned out of all her possessions by the Chicago Fire of 1871, she found a measure of comfort at the scorched hall of the Knights of Labor, whose meetings she attended. She saw the early labor leaders as "saints and martyrs," and thereafter she committed herself increasingly to their struggle against low wages, long hours, and depressed working conditions. In 1877 she went to Pittsburgh to help striking railroad employees and was there at the time of the bitter riots in which large amounts of railroad property were burned by a mob--damage for which the strikers were blamed. "Labor," she wrote afterward, "must bear the cross for others' sins" (*Autobiography*, p. 16).

From 1880 her course was set. Without a fixed home, finding her lodging where she went, she moved from one industrial area to another, whichever seemed hardest hit by economic depression or labor strife. Where there was a strike, she organized and aided the workers; where there was none, she held educational meetings. Beginning in the early 1890's, her thin, wiry figure became especially identified with the struggles of the coal miners. As an organizer for the United Mine Workers she participated in the anthracite strikes of 1900 and 1902 and attracted widespread public attention to the strikers' wives by leading them in marches on which they routed strikebreakers with brooms and mops. She disapproved of the general settlement that followed President Theodore Roosevelt's intervention, feeling that union recognition could have been achieved.

The production of bituminous coal in West Virginia was omitted from the agreements which the United Mine Workers made with operators in the other Eastern fields. Mother Jones took the lead in organizing unions in that state, first in the northern (Fairmont) district and later in the New River coal camps. In 1903 she broke off an organizing journey through West Virginia to go to Colorado, where, disguised as a peddler, she collected information that led to a walkout in that exploited area. When the Mine Workers' president, John Mitchell, disavowed the strike, she publicly condemned him and quit her union job. Now she made a round of trouble spots farther west. She joined with striking machinists of the Southern Pacific Railroad and gave firsthand support to the Western Federation of Miners when it closed the copper pits in Arizona. While in the Southwest, she became concerned with the plight of Mexican revolutionists then imprisoned in this country, personally carried their case to the White House, and helped secure a Congressional inquiry into their fate. In other instances,

too, she demonstrated a special ability to win publicity and governmental attention for the cause of the workers. A notable instance came in 1903 when, to dramatize the evils of child labor, she conducted a caravan of striking children on an overland march from the textile mills of Kensington, Pa., to the home of President Theodore Roosevelt at Oyster Bay, N.Y. At times during the following two years she secured employment in cotton mills in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, in order to gain personal knowledge of child labor conditions in those states.

Renewed appeals to help the coal miners proved irresistible, and in 1911 she was back in West Virginia organizing local unions. Following the mine strike of 1912-13 she was tried by a state militia military court, convicted and sentenced to prison for twenty years. Labor circles protested strongly, and a Senate investigation was voted, but before it began Mother Jones was freed by the newly elected governor of West Virginia. When new troubles broke out in the Colorado coal mines later in 1913 she went west again. Three times coal operators locked her up and deported her from their properties, and each time she returned to the scene of risk and danger. The machinegun "massacre" of mine families in a tent colony at Ludlow, Colo., on April 20, 1914, when twenty lives were lost, stirred her as had no other single burst of violence. She told the tragic story to audiences across the country, to members of the House Mines and Mining Committee in Washington, and to President Wilson, who responded by proposing to the union and owners that they agree to a truce and the creation of a grievance committee at each mine.

Mother Jones reached the age of eighty-five in the period of World War I, but there was little diminution in her efforts. She was in the thick of New York City's streetcar and garment strikes of 1915-16 and the 1919 steel strike. In 1921 she attended the Pan American Federation of Labor meeting in Mexico, her third visit to that country as a representative at an international labor gathering. Even at ninety-one she could be found in the unpainted dwellings of the company towns in West Virginia, encouraging a new generation of mine men and women to play a part in the class struggle as she saw it.

The hundredth anniversary of her birth, May 1, 1930, was celebrated with a reception at the Silver Spring, Md., home of her friend Mrs. Walter Burgess, with whom she lived out her last years. Messages poured in from around the country. White-haired, her small frame dressed in the long-familiar black, she spoke with her old vigor into a talking-picture camera. Thanking John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for a message of congratulations, she recalled her battles at the Rockefeller-owned mines of Colorado and said: "He's a damn good sport. I've licked him many times, but we've made peace."*

*James, *op. cit.*, II, 286-288.

COLLATERAL READING XXXIII

(ACTIVITY V)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MARY JONES.*

Chairman WALSH. What is your name?

Mother JONES. Mary Jones.

Chairman WALSH. Where do you reside?

Mother JONES. Well, I reside wherever there is a good fight against wrong--all over the country.

Chairman WALSH. Do you claim a residence in any particular State?

Mother JONES. No. Wherever the workers are fighting the robbers I go there.

Chairman WALSH. Now, it may seem unnecessary, but you are the lady that is known to the country as "Mother Jones," are you?

Mother JONES. I suppose so, Mr. Walsh.

Chairman WALSH. I will go right to the cause of the inquiry. You have listened to a great deal of it here, I notice. It is the administration or the lack of administration of law in industrial disputes. So I am going to ask you first, Mrs. Jones, were you in the Pittsburgh railroad strike of 1877?

Mother JONES. Yes.

Chairman WALSH. At what point in the country were you, Mrs. Jones?

Mother JONES. At Pittsburgh.

Chairman WALSH. I would like you to give your experience in that strike, so far as the administration of the law or the conduct of the officials was concerned.

Mother JONES. Well, the strike began in Martinsburg, Ohio. It started with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad employees, and it reached down to Pittsburgh and east to Scranton. I was in New York. I came down. I was a member of the Knights of Labor at that time, and some of the boys met me and asked me to stay over with them, and I did. So the traffic was stopped and a lawless element that had got into Pittsburgh during the panic of 1873, they had gathered in from the eastern part of the country and, of course, began to revolt and started to rioting. The employees of the railroad and others went to the mayor of the city and asked him if he would not swear them in as deputies to preserve the property and have the law enforced. While this was going on the sheriff of the county telegraphed to the governor, and the governor sent the militia.

Now, at that time I believe the troops went to Pittsburgh, but the fight turned onto the Pennsylvania Railroad; it concentrated on the Pennsylvania Railroad mostly, and some of the militia was quartered in the roundhouse. The business

* *Senate Documents*, Vol. XXIX, No. 415 (Washington, D.C.: 64th Congress, 1st Session, 1915-1916), pp. 10618-10622.

men of Pittsburgh, who for years had complained of discrimination by the railroad company against the city, were free in their expression of enmity against the company. Some of them connected with this committed acts of violence and actually participated in the riots that followed. Cars were set on fire and run down the tracks to the roundhouse, which was destroyed, together with over 100 locomotives belonging to the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. The feeling at that time of many workers and sympathizers was one of distrust, and in many instances amounted to hatred, because the corporations of that day were open and successful in passing antilabor legislation, tramp laws, and other legislation, which caused the workers to feel that they were being discriminated against. The corporations succeeded in the passing of the law which required that in case of a strike the train crew should bring in a locomotive to the starting place before the strike would begin. It was because of that legislation that so many locomotives were housed at Pittsburgh and became the prey to the flames by an outraged populace and not by the workers and not by strikers. I know most of the strikers; all had done everything they could to keep order. Not but what they felt the sting of the lash, the injustice that was done, but nevertheless they wanted to keep order and be steady otherwise. But the business men were the men who perpetrated the wrongs, because they felt that the railroad company had discriminated against them so much. That is about as much as I remember of that. I haven't the notes. I have them laid away, Mr. Walsh, but I am over all the country, and I don't know where to lay hands on things.

Chairman WALSH. You made notes of all these strikes at the time?

Mother JONES. Mostly; I have made notes of them all.

Chairman WALSH. Were you in the anthracite strike in Pennsylvania in 1900?

Mother JONES. Yes.

Chairman WALSH. I wish you would give us whatever comment you have on that as to violence and administration of the law and the action of the authorities in it.

Mother JONES. I had been down in Arnot, Pa. We had a strike there for six months, but there were no deputies and no gunmen and no militia brought in there, and there was no violence. That is the home of the Secretary of Labor.

During the whole six months, it was a nine months' strike, but it was six months after I went there; but the men were orderly and they themselves took care of the property. The superintendent and the officials of that company could come up 4 miles from Blossburg at any hour of the night they wanted to alone, and they were not afraid and had no reason to be. That strike was settled very peacefully. The Erie Co. conceded to the men most of what they asked for, and there was no violence during the whole nine months.

Then I went into Maryland. I was not in Maryland very long until I was sent for to come into the anthracite region.

Chairman WALSH. When was that, Mrs. Jones, in 1902?

Mother JONES. No; in 1900.

Chairman WALSH. Oh, yes.

Mother JONES. And in that--there were only 7,000 men organized out of 160,000, and I addressed the convention the day that I got in from Maryland and they called the strike right afterwards. Well, of course, we had to go over all the district--three districts--to rally them together. There was no violence up in either Scranton or around Hazelton, and very little of it down in a town named Shamokin--scarcely any violence there, but the militia was brought in. First the company would guard the mines so that the men could not get out, or that we could not get near them; and if we billed a meeting, why the company would always attend the meeting and the men could not; it was the force of the company entirely that attended the meeting, and I concluded that these men had suffered long enough.

I want to say, Mr. Walsh, that I do not take any orders from any officials, I belong to a class who have been robbed, exploited, and plundered down through many centuries, and because I belong to that class I have an instinct to go and help break the chains; and so I concluded some moves had to be made to bring the men all out; and I organized the men and women, the women particularly, and I made raids every night; we marched and pulled out those mines--the men. There was no violence. The sheriff in Hazelton was a very fine man. He understood the law, and he knew he could manage the affair without bringing the military there. But I went down to Panther Creek. There were 5,000 men there that could not be reached, and I knew they had to be got out in order to get more bread for the children that were coming, so one night, without saying anything to anyone, I gathered up 2,000 or 3,000 women, and naturally the men followed. That is their natural instinct--to know what we were going to do. We started. I had to go into the saloons and tell them to close up and not give any liquor to the boys. I knew the women did not go near the saloons; I was the only one that did. We marched, and about 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning we met the militia. There was a poor little sheriff, not to be condemned at all, but he was unable to grasp the thing, and he yelled like a mad dog in the night to send the guns to him, the governor. I did not know it, or I would have telegraphed the governor to keep the guns at home and there would be no trouble. Then we marched 15 miles over the mountains from Hazelton to Panther Creek, and there we met the militia in the middle of the night. The militia did not know what kind of an army I had with me. He thought it was just a few strikers; he told us to go back. I told him that the American workingman never goes backward; we go forward, and we did not go out to go back; and he said he would charge bayonets. Well, he didn't do it anyway; but it took us three hours to go back 2 miles. I don't like to resist officers and create any trouble, but I saw he was a sort of a Sunday-school fellow and there wasn't very much to him, and I concluded to just pat him on the back a little, and I pulled out the 5,000 men.

Chairman WALSH. You mean by that that you induced the 5,000 men to go out on strike?

Mother JONES. Yes; I wanted them to win the fight. I had a large army with me and I wanted them all, and so I had to get these miners out, because they were furnishing the coal. I brought out the 5,000 men. We held up the street cars and did not hurt anybody, and the men--oh, once in awhile when a boss wanted to jump over us we picked him up and threw him over the fence to his wife, and told her to take care of him. We did not hurt him, but we wanted him out of our way; so that thing continued until 10 o'clock in the morning; and we had the 5,000 men out and that ended it, and that part of the strike was ended peacefully.

The women had nothing but brooms and mops and they were very hungry, and the militia had ordered breakfast at some hotel and I told the women go in and eat

their breakfast and let the State pay for it; and it was our breakfast anyhow. So they did. We ate the breakfast. We had more strength to get back.

Mr. Mitchell, then president of the miners, did not know anything about these moves, but I saw him in the morning, and I told him I was up against the militia, and he was a little nervous. But I never get nervous when I face bayonets. I think they are human beings like all the rest of us, and I go in a fight and I am not afraid of bayonets when it comes to a struggle for our rights. One day I got my army together of little boys. I was training them for the future. And when we got everything straightened out the mines closed, and we went back to Hazelton, and Mr. Mitchell asked me what we had done. I told him nothing in the world--just pulled out the 5,000 men and told the militia to take a rest. The militia did not follow us, did not interfere with us otherwise at all. And they treated us with a great deal of courtesy, looking at it from their point of view.

At this time the winter was coming, and I knew that the people would need coal and that the strike would have to come somewhat to a climax. So in Lattimer--I happened to be in Tennessee when the 23 men happened to be shot in the back by the sheriff and the deputies. I did not come East right away, because I had other work to do. I concluded I would have to take the matter up, and the general manager sent word that if I came in there I was going to get killed. Well, it does not make any difference to me when I die, if I am dying for a good cause. I concluded I would go in there, and the newspaper men, while I am always friendly to them, I know they have to make their living just as the balance have, they were in the habit of going to the barns to get buggies to take them out, and the barn fellow would tell ahead of time what I was doing. So this night I told the clerk at the hotel, "Don't notify the newspaper men that I am going out." In that evening I had got one man from each mining department; the others did not know that I had seen anyone but themselves, and I arranged with them to bring their army and meet me.

I got the women--I got about 1,500 women lined up, and we walked into Lattimer. It was dark, and we knocked at every door and told them there was no work to do; that they would have to rest. The general manager didn't know, neither did the sheriff, so they began telephoning. The manager and the sheriff came, and he said, "What are you going to do, Mother?" and I said, "I am going to close up this mine." And he said, "Are the women going to close it up?" And I said, "Yes; we are going to close it up." So the drivers came along to take the mules to the mines, and I had all of the women centered in front of the company's store, and we had 3,000 men down at the mines that the company or the sheriff or nobody knew anything about--they had come in on different roads--and I said, when he ordered the boys to take the mules to the drivers, that the mules would not scab, he had just as well leave them at home in the barns, because the mules remembered that Patrick Henry had passed a Declaration of Independence, and that the mules were conscious of that, and he had just as well leave them in the barns. But the drivers were ordered to take them away, and I didn't worry then, because I knew they would come back pretty soon. I kept entertaining the sheriff and general manager and deputies, and the mules came back directly without the drivers. Of course, we cheered the mules. The men down at the mines were driving the miners back that were going to work. We closed those mines in the anthracite, and that really was the key to the situation. They had shot 23 men in the back, just three years before. I served notice on the sheriff that no 23 men--no 23 workers--would be shot that day; that he had just as well make up his mind that those mines were going to be closed, and we had no pistols or guns, nothing but just our hands,

because I don't believe in those instruments and I don't travel with any organizer who carries them. We closed up the mines. The reporters heard of it later in the morning and they came down, but we had our work done by the time they came, so we went back, went home; that really was the key to the situation; that settled the first anthracite strike.

The militia didn't commit any brutal acts, nor did they undertake to force us in any way. I must give Col. O'Neal credit for that. He was the colonel of that militia; that was the crack group in all of Pennsylvania, but they were not very crack that day, I assure you. . . . That was the first anthracite strike in 1900, and at the close the men called a convention and the strike was called off, and I think Mark Hanna had something to do with settling it. Then I was sent into West Virginia--

Chairman WALSH. That was in 1902?

Mother JONES. In 1900. The strike in Pennsylvania, I think, had closed in November; that strike, it didn't last very long, only six or seven weeks was all that it lasted, and the men got some concessions; not all they wanted, but they got some to satisfy them. There was no rioting; no bloodshed. The sheriff at Hazleton, Sheriff Harvey, was a very sensible, clear, level-headed man. He came to me that morning and asked me to take them home, and I said, "No; no one is going to get hurt." And he said, "They want me to call for the militia." And I said, "Don't obey them; there is no need for them," and there was no one hurt that morning.

I went into West Virginia; the organization sent me there. I surveyed the situation there. I was mostly in the Kenowa and Norfolk & Western, in the New River country, and I was also in the Fairmount region. I never in my life was arrested until I was arrested in the Fairmount region under a Federal injunction. I was arrested while I was speaking to a large crowd in Clarksburg, and some one sent me word that we were all under arrest, and I said to the audience, composed a great deal of strikers, "Don't you undertake to surrender; I am under arrest, but you keep up the fight; it is a fight for more bread." The United States marshal, Elliott, he didn't come up to me; he sent one of the deputies to send one of our own men to tell me I was under arrest. I had never been in court before then in my life, and we were carried 84 miles, to Parkersburg, to prison, but the marshal sent his nephew with me. He sent five of the deputy marshals with the boys. There were nine of us altogether. The young man said to me, "Mother, my uncle told me to take you to the hotel; he has engaged a room there." I didn't say anything until I got off of the train, and so when I got off of the train the deputies were taking my boys that way and I was going this way, and I said, "Boy, we are going the wrong way." And he said, "Oh, no." And I said, "The boys are going the wrong way, then." And he said, "No; they are going to jail; you are going to the hotel." And I said, "If the boys go to jail, I go to jail, too." And so I turned around and went to jail.

COLLATERAL READING XXXIV

(ACTIVITY V)

JANE ADDAMS*

(September 6, 1860-May 21, 1935)

She was born in Cedarville in north central Illinois. She was the eighth of nine children, but only she, two older sisters, and an older brother lived to maturity. Her parents were from Pennsylvania. Her father's ancestors had been granted land there by William Penn in the seventeenth century.

When Jane Addams was two, her mother died. She grew up an introspective child, deeply devoted to her father, influenced by his integrity and by the moral fervor of the abolitionist movement. When she was seven her father married Anna H. Haldeman, a widow with two sons. Although Jane felt no deep warmth for her stepmother, this vigorous and intelligent woman did contribute to her education, especially in the areas of music and literature. Jane's stepbrother George Haldeman was the playmate and constant companion of her early years.

Jane entered the Rockford (Illinois) Female Seminary in 1877. Her heart had been set upon the newly opened Smith College, but her father's wishes prevailedIn 1882, having graduated at the head of her class the year before, she received her coveted degree.

The ensuing eight years were, at least to outward appearances, the most difficult and undirected of Jane Addams' life. Her father's sudden death in 1881 at the age of fifty-nine was a shattering blow. She enrolled that fall in the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, but poor health and the realization that medicine was not her forte caused her withdrawal the following May. Shortly thereafter, she underwent surgery for a disabling spinal condition; the next winter she was bedridden for six months at the home of a married sister in Des Moines.

By 1883 she was sufficiently recovered to embark with her stepmother for Europe. Here she made the conventional tour, pursued some studies in early Christian art, and in her journal made occasional brief references to the poor of London's East End and other large European cities. In her autobiography, published many years later, she suggests that this first exposure to urban poverty made a great impression upon her.

She returned to the U.S. in 1885 and then again traveled in Europe in 1887. A severe attack of sciatic rheumatism reduced her again to invalidism for many weeks and renewed a recurring depression.

She was nevertheless on the threshold of a career which she herself was to invent. Her vision had been long in the making. "I gradually became convinced that it would be a good thing to rent a house in a part of the city where many primitive and actual needs are found, in which young women who have been given over too exclusively to study, might restore a balance of activity along traditional lines and learn of life from life itself; where they might try out some of the things they had been taught. . ." (*ibid.*, p. 85).

*James, *op. cit.*, I, 16-22.

Ellen Gates Starr, a close friend and former Rockford classmate: Miss Starr's enthusiastic response and willingness to take part in the experiment convinced Jane Addams that her idea was worth trying. A month later she visited Toynbee Hall in London's East End, the university settlement opened in 1884 by a group of Oxford men seeking, under the influence of men like Ruskin and Tolstoi, to alleviate the bitter human consequences of rapid industrialization. Here she observed in actual operation an institution of the type she had envisioned and began a long association from which both sides were to gain much.

By February 1889 Jane Addams and Ellen Starr were in Chicago, explaining their idea and looking for a house to rent.

The result of their search was the decaying Hull mansion on the corner of Polk and Halstead streets, originally built by a Chicago businessman as a country residence but now in the heart of the crowded Nineteenth Ward with its 5,000 Greek, Italian, Russian, German, Sicilian, and other immigrants--part of the foreign population which made up three-fourths of Chicago's million inhabitants. In September 1889 the two young women moved in and declared themselves "at home" to the neighbors. For the remaining forty-six years of her life, though Jane Addams traveled all over the United States and in many parts of the world, Hull House remained her home and the reflection of her thought and personality.

An important part of her early concern was with overprivileged young people, especially young women like herself, who needed to connect with the real life of the world. "Jane's idea," wrote Ellen Starr in 1889, "which she puts very much to the front . . . is that it [settlement work] is more for the benefit of the people who do it than for the other class. . . . Jane feels that it is not the Christian spirit to go among these people as if you were bringing them a great boon: that one gets as much as she gives" (*ibid.*).

By 1893 Hull House was the center of some forty clubs, functions, and activities, including a day nursery, gymnasium, dispensary, and playground, cooking and sewing courses, and a cooperative boardinghouse for working girls; and 2,000 people each week were crossing its threshold. Like Ruskin and William Morris, Jane Addams saw an intimate relationship between art and social justice, and Hull House also became a center for artistic expression. The first addition was the Butler Art Gallery; the Hull House players pioneered in little theatre, with a repertoire ranging from Galsworthy to Greek tragedy with an all-Greek cast; and the Music School under Eleanor Smith gave popular concerts and offered young immigrants an opportunity to develop musical talent.

One secret of the success of Hull House was Miss Addams' talent for attracting able people and putting them to work. Probably no more remarkable group of women could have been assembled in the country than the quartet composed of Jane Addams, Alice Hamilton, Julia Lathrop, and Florence Kelley. Part-time residents Sophonsiba Breckinridge and the gifted Edith and Grace Abbott were hardly less notable. Not in residence, but important in many Hull House ventures, were such Chicago reformers and social leaders as Lyman Gage and Henry Demarest Lloyd.

At first Jane Addams paid the expenses from her own pocket, but rapid growth and the depression of 1893 strained her comparatively modest income and forced her to turn to the public. She proved gifted at this task, and by the late 1920's

the annual Hull House budget was nearly \$100,000. Wealthy Chicago women were a chief source of support, among them Helen Culver, heir of the original Mr. Hull, whose gifts of land made possible the expansion of Hull House far beyond its original bounds; and Louise de Koven Bowen (Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, 1859-1953), who became a leader in Chicago social welfare work.

Most Hull House projects were group endeavors, with one or another of the residents taking the lead depending on special training or interest. Thus, Florence Kelley spearheaded the sweatshop investigations, Grace Abbott worked for newly arrived immigrants, Alice Hamilton investigated the dangerous trades, Julia Lathrop made public welfare her specialty, Mrs. Bowen, the juvenile court, and Ellen Starr, the settlement's cultural activities. It was Jane Addams, however, who remained the center and focus of the undertaking. She served as a common bond uniting the strong personalities around her and helped them understand the broader significance of their varied activities. A protracted Hull House effort to defeat a notoriously corrupt alderman, for example, led Miss Addams to write a perceptive article, "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption" (*International Journal of Ethics*, April 1898), contrasting the alderman's deep neighborhood roots with the moral abstractions of the reformers.

She quickly became a sought-after lecturer, and her articles in the *Atlantic*, *North American Review*, and other periodicals were widely read. Her first book, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), a collection of these lectures and articles, sums up the central concerns of this period of her life; the interdependence of modern industrial society, and the consequent need for a new social ethic transcending the old code of personal morality and based upon actual grappling with the problems of urban life. Her unusual capacity to act as a bridge between disparate groups was nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in her writings about immigrants. At a time when many viewed the newcomers with fear, she welcomed the cultural diversity they brought to American life; in *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909) she feelingly described the heightened conflict between the generations experienced by immigrant families--a conflict she knew well from her own youth. By far her most successful book was *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910). Eighty thousand copies of this sensitive and revealing work were published during her lifetime, many for school use, and it ranks among the great American autobiographies.

Although New York's Neighborhood Guild had preceded it by three years, Hull House captured the popular imagination and came to be considered the pioneer American settlement. In 1909 Jane Addams was elected the first woman president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (later the National Conference of Social Work); in 1910 she became the first woman to receive an honorary degree from Yale; and in 1911 she became first head of the National Federation of Settlements, a post she retained until her death. Celebrities from at home and abroad came to feel that no visit to Chicago was complete without a stop at Hull House. Theodore Roosevelt made several whirlwind tours, and the British socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb found it one of the few American institutions worthy of favorable mention. (Their visit was long remembered at Hull House as the occasion when Miss Addams, wishing to put the chain-smoking Mrs. Webb at ease, smoked the only cigarette of her life.)

Jane Addams' Chicago reputation long lagged behind her international fame. In its infancy Hull House was commended as a worthy exercise in Christian benevolence, but its emergence as a champion of the labor movement strained the enthusiasm of

the city's wealthy citizens, many of whom came to view Miss Addams as a dangerous radical. Her visit to a Chicago anarchist friend imprisoned illegally after the McKinley assassination in 1901 aroused widespread denunciation and caused Bertha Honore Palmer (Mrs. Potter Palmer) to withdraw her support. These difficulties stemmed in part from Jane Addams' belief that every opinion had a right to a hearing and that the surest way to make any idea dangerous was to drive it underground. Hull House accordingly opened its doors to every sort of doctrine, and discussions in the Working People's Social Science Club covered the ideological spectrum. Such visitors as Prince Kropotkin and William T. Stead (who wrote *If Christ Comes to Chicago!*) contributed their own brands of social criticism. It was a heady experience for the residents--one later described it as the "most democratic exchange of ideas in all history"--but it alarmed a city still jittery from the Haymarket Riot and the Pullman Strike.

The problems of the Nineteenth Ward which had drawn Hull House into the legislative arena inevitably led Jane Addams into a still wider world of political action. In 1912 she seconded Theodore Roosevelt's nomination at the Progressive party convention and campaigned vigorously for him all over the country. Her reply to friends who thought partisan political activity no place for a woman was revealing: "When a great party pledges itself to the protection of children, to the care of the aged, to the relief of overworked girls, to the safeguarding of burdened men, it is inevitable that it should appeal to women, and should seek to draw upon the great reservoir of their moral energy so long undesired and unutilized in practical politics . . ." (*Second Twenty Years*, pp. 33-34). There was an additional appropriateness, which she did not mention, in the fact that Hull House had been the seedbed for many of the ideas embodied in the Progressive platform.

Her work for woman suffrage, too, grew from her social concern. Rockford was an early center of suffrage sentiment, and her father had believed in it, but her active work for the cause came about in much the same way as did her work for the Progressives. There were things that needed doing, and the "moral energy of women" should be brought to bear upon them. Prostitution, for example, which she discussed in *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), was only one of many social problems that could be attacked more vigorously if women had the vote. She joined in the Chicago municipal suffrage campaign of 1907, and as vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (1911-14) she spoke widely for the cause. In 1913 she was a leading figure among those who attended the Budapest convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

As early as 1907 Jane Addams had published a book called *Newer Ideals of Peace* (in which she viewed the enforced "internationalism" of polyglot neighborhoods like the Nineteenth Ward as a potential force for peace), and when war broke out in 1914 her whole attention turned to this issue. In January 1915 she was elected chairman of the newly organized Woman's Peace Party in the United States, and that April she was chosen president of the International Congress of Women at The Hague. The Congress voted to urge the warring powers to call a conference of neutral nations to offer "continuous mediation" in the hope of ending the war, and with Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland, Jane Addams presented the proposal to leading European statesmen. Convinced that the belligerents genuinely desired a face-saving way to end the war, she made a serious effort to persuade President Wilson to initiate a conference of mediation, but without success. Despite her reservations about Henry Ford's famous "Peace Ship," only a severe attack of pneumonia prevented her from joining the would-be media-

tors who sailed for Europe in December 1915.

When the United States entered the conflict in 1917, Jane Addams found herself, in company with others who had held out against the war, vilified on all sides. The Daughters of the American Revolution expelled her (she remarked that she had supposed herself to be a life member, but had discovered that it was only during good behavior). Few social workers, even among those at Hull House, shared her point of view; even John Dewey supported the war. Nevertheless, and although she valued the good opinion of her fellow citizens, on this issue no compromise was possible. She did find a wartime niche, however, with Herbert Hoover's Food Administration, and lectured throughout the country in the interests of increased food production to aid victims of the war. (Her respect for Hoover, whose efforts to relieve Belgian starvation she had observed and admired in 1915, was enduring; she supported him for president in 1928 and again in 1932). Jane Addams reviewed this trying period in her *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922).

The war's end brought no slackening in her work for peace. In 1919 she was elected first president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an outgrowth of the 1915 Hague gathering. She held this post until her death, faithfully presiding over the league's conferences in Zurich, Vienna, Dublin, Prague, and elsewhere. She strongly supported Carrie Chapman Catt's National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, organized in 1925. Her long search for what William James had called a moral equivalent of war was recognized in 1931 when she shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University. She at once gave her half of the prize, some \$16,000, to the Women's International League.

Miss Addams was profoundly disturbed by the drift of American life in the 1920's. The failure of the United States to join the League of Nations dismayed her; prohibition seemed a mixed blessing at best; communication with young people of the postwar generation was difficult; and the widespread pressure for intellectual and political conformity affronted her deep-seated belief in tolerance and free expression. In 1920 she helped to found the American Civil Liberties Union, and she served on its national committee throughout the decade. By the time she wrote her second autobiographical volume, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House* (1930), the optimism which had characterized the first was somewhat dimmed. People commented now upon the sadness in her eyes; the remote quality beyond her warmth and open friendliness became more pronounced. Even Hull House lost some of the spark and vitality of its pioneering days. But if Jane Addams had seen too much and felt too much for easy optimism, she still preserved the saving grace of a sense of humor.

The D.A.R., the American Legion, and other groups continued their sporadic attacks in the 1920's, but Jane Addams was increasingly given a place of honor which ultimately verged on adulation. A world trip in 1923 resembled a regal procession, and a 1928 visit to Hawaii to preside over the conference of the Pan-Pacific Women's Union was a similar personal triumph. The year 1931 brought not only the Nobel award but also the \$5,000 M. Carey Thomas Prize from Bryn Mawr College. In her final years honors came thick and fast. Her birthdays were widely celebrated. She was regularly ranked first on lists of "America's greatest women," and even, at long last, accepted as Chicago's leading citizen.

The depression brought Hull House and its head resident new tasks and new responsibilities, but Jane Addams' health, never buoyant, was failing rapidly. She underwent major surgery in 1931 and two years later suffered a severe heart attack. She remained active until 1935, however, when she was stricken with intestinal cancer. On May 21, at seventy-four, she died. For two days, as her body lay in Hull House, the neighbors filed by, sometimes as many as two thousand an hour. After funeral services at Hull House, she was buried in her native Cedarville.

No summary of Jane Addams' achievement can be comprehensive. She is one of those rare figures whose popular appeal remains largely unaffected by the continuing process of scholarly scrutiny and reinterpretation. Her apotheosis, begun well before her death, caused her some uneasiness. At a dinner in 1927, after several particularly effulgent tributes, she said: "I sat here wondering what kind of person I was that you should be seeing not me, but this mirage you have described. I assure you it is not there. I am a very simple person . . ." (Linn, p. 436). Like many of the first generation of college women, she remained single, yet no one ever called her unfeminine. Beautiful as a girl, she had an arresting magnetism that transcended feature or dress. People who saw her once remembered it as an event years later. She spoke and thought much about woman's "long historical role of ministration to basic human needs," and she strove to fill this role, whether it meant acting as a midwife for an illegitimate baby whom the scandalized immigrant housewives around Hull House would not touch or standing firm against a popular war.

Although Jane Addams had clear convictions which she never hesitated to express, her influence did not stem from the mere assertion of abstract ideas. Her mind was not the skilled instrument of the scholar or the logician, but one of intuitive wisdom. She was a mystic possessed of a devastating common sense who viewed everyday experience from a new angle of vision, distilling from it compelling insights into the human and social cost of industrial capitalism and international conflict. One could well apply to Jane Addams a phrase she liked to quote in describing Lincoln, that he had dug "the channels through which the moral life of his countrymen might flow."

INTRODUCTION TO COLLATERAL READINGS XXXV AND XXXVI
(ACTIVITY V)

FRANCES PERKINS' SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Of the New Deal programs which have lasted till this day, those that deal with the relief of human suffering are the most prominent. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor through the New Deal years, was directly involved in either proposing or pushing through this legislation. In his biography of Frances Perkins, *Madame Secretary*, George Martin documented her relationship to these programs. "She more than anyone else in the administration was responsible for the preparation and passage of the Social Security Act. If she wanted, she might have become known as the 'mother of social security.'"

The ideas for social programs were not new. A number of people had experimented with them in the years leading up to World War I. From the time of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, Frances Perkins had been involved in lobbying for legislation to protect the working people of New York State. It was there that she became acquainted with Franklin D. Roosevelt. She worked with him when he was governor of New York. In 1930, using a draft prepared by Frances Perkins, F. D. R. gave a speech to the Governors' Conference stating that "the only answer to irregularity of unemployment seems to be some form of insurance." Perkins used this concern, plus that of old age insurance, to obtain a special commitment from Roosevelt before accepting the post of Secretary of Labor. He promised to have legislation introduced to deal with those two issues.

Contrary to the stereotype of women's inability to deal with numbers, she clearly understood the use and application of figures. The day before Roosevelt sent the special message concerning Social Security to the Congress, he called her in to explain the tables she had prepared. She had projected the programs up to 1965 when old age insurance benefits would begin to tap the general tax revenues. What she projected has been identified as one of the concerns of Social Security commissioners today. She could not predict, however, that so many people would be involved in the programs and that inflation would necessitate increase of funding. These projections of hers, plus the figures that appear in the following article attest to her intelligence and perception. While much of the New Deal legislation has disappeared, the social programs which she instituted have continued. What greater tribute to her sense of humanity could there be?

COLLATERAL READING XXXV

(ACTIVITY V)

NEW ROADS TO SECURITY

Henry F. Pringle
interviews
Frances Perkins

Question. You are Secretary of Labor in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, Miss Perkins?

Answer. I am.

Q. And you are also in general charge of the President's announced objective, security for the men, women, and children of the United States?

A. That's an exaggeration. Many people besides myself are working on that problem. I am Chairman of the Committee on Economic Security.

Q. What is the goal of that committee?

A. We seek measures which will safeguard the average American against such misfortunes as unemployment, old-age destitution, sickness, and accident.

Q. I notice that you mention unemployment at the head of the list. Is this the most serious problem, do you think?

A. There can be no economic security while millions are out of work. We may as well face the fact. The Administration has not only done so; it has actually increased employment through its various recovery methods. But the problem of unemployment has not been solved and it remains the most serious of all causes of insecurity.

Q. How widespread is this insecurity? Is it true that 90 per cent of the American people suffer from it?

A. The percentage depends upon the degree of insecurity which is included. Certainly the depression has borne heavily upon every section of our society.

Q. But this was once a fairly happy and self-confident nation; what has happened to cause this?

A. As I see it, the rapid succession of inventions, increasing urbanization, ever-growing dependence upon industry, and commercialization of agriculture have operated toward this insecurity among 90 per cent of our people.

- Q. What, in a word, can we do about it?
- A. Let me put it in three phrases--stimulation of private industry, a public works program, and unemployment insurance.
- Q. You are referring, of course, only to the problem of unemployment when you offer these remedies?
- A. Oh, yes. Old age, sickness, and accident insurance are for related problems.
- Q. You believe, then, that job insurance is a major step toward ending economic insecurity?
- A. I do, always remembering that it, alone, is not sufficient.
- Q. How many people now gainfully employed would benefit through job insurance?
- A. About 20,000,000--nearly all of the industrial workers--would benefit by a plan which was nationwide in its coverage.
- Q. Suppose we had inaugurated such a system in 1924. Would the country now be better off? Why?
- A. I can answer that by citing a recent study which has been made. According to this, a reserve fund of \$4,000,000,000 might have been built up when the 1929 slump started. It would have required a job insurance system starting in 1923. Contribution would have been at the rate of 4 per cent of wages. There would have been a four-week waiting period and then half-wages would have been paid.
- Q. Would this have halted the depression?
- A. Who can say? But \$4,000,000,000 paid to workmen would certainly have delayed it and mitigated its effect.
- Q. How heavy a burden would job insurance be on the taxpayer?
- A. It would be negligible. The only possible cost would be government supervision of the system. The funds would come wholly from contributions by employers, by employees, or both. That's the difference between it and the relief payments under which we now groan. Keep this in mind: Job insurance payments would be made as a substitute for wages, out of savings set aside in periods of prosperity.
- Q. I understand, of course, that job insurance is but part of the program for economic security. Can it be made effective unless, at the same time, old-age pensions are established?
- A. Yes, we could have unemployment insurance without old-age pensions. But it would be less effective than under the more comprehensive system with benefits for both classes.
- Q. At what age should old-age pensions take effect?
- A. Most advocates favor sixty-five as the age for retirement.

- Q. Do you favor a maximum age at which workers would be required to retire, thereby opening their jobs to younger people?
- A. I think that would be exceedingly unwise. Many a man over sixty-five is vitally needed in the operation of a factory.
- Q. Are you willing, Miss Perkins, to give your reaction to the so-called Townsend plan, being agitated in California, whereby old people would receive \$200 a month on condition that they spend it promptly?
- A. It's not possible to ignore a proposal arousing hopes which cannot possibly be fulfilled. The Townsend plan is economically and socially unsound. Under it there would be distributed \$2,000,000,000 per month in pensions. Why, the entire national income in 1933 was less than \$40,000,000,000, and this pension scheme, alone, would be, annually, \$24,000,000,000! It would give to 9 per cent of our population, the people over sixty, more than half the entire income of the country. The supporters of the Townsend plan are utterly reckless in their use of figures.
- Q. What is an adequate old-age pension which is economically possible?
- A. It is hard to answer this for the entire country. An adequate pension for one section is not large enough in another. Average relief costs vary from \$6 to \$7 per month per family in some states to \$45 per month in urban and industrial communities. I'll say this: The old-age standards should be higher than the relief standards.
- Q. Will such pensions be much more expensive than old-age homes?
- A. On the contrary, they will cost much less. The human saving, in self-respect, will be beyond estimate. But there will be large savings in cold cash as well. One student of the problem has estimated that out of every \$100 which has gone to keep up the nation's almshouses, \$60 is spent for overhead. That enormous overhead will be almost entirely eliminated under a pension plan.
- Q. Now I'm through, Miss Perkins. What is your answer when the charge is made that your whole program is "socialistic" and therefore bad?
- A. I'll reply to that with another question. Is social security--a decent, orderly, self-sufficient life for the people of this country--socialistic?

COLLATERAL READING XXXVI

(ACTIVITY V)

FIRST WOMAN CABINET OFFICER*

*Appreciation of the Relation of Man to His Environment Makes
Frances Perkins the Political Exponent of Social Justice*



The A. S. Abell Co.
Henry M. Hyde

By Henry M. Hyde
Of the Washington Bureau of the Baltimore *Evening Sun*

FRANCES PERKINS is neither a short-haired radical nor a long-nosed reactionary. She began her public career with the calm realization that a large number of social ills cried out for correction, and she was sane enough to adopt an intelligent, realistic approach to the problem.

But on a day when the Mellons, the Garys, the Schwabs and other demigods of an even earlier era were calling up their disciples with cries which were interpreted as "rugged individualism forever!", Miss Perkins was quietly working for the very measures which have since become patriotic symbols of enlightened progress: the five-day week and minimum wage; governmental supervision of some phases of industry; the abolition of child labor; and the coordination rather than overlapping of national and State employment efforts.

If the record is examined, it will be found that as late as last April the rugged individuals grew dewy across the forehead when Miss Perkins, as Secretary of Labor, proposed that Government control industrial production, regulate the hours of labor for workmen, and prescribe fair wages. That was two months before the NRA came into being, and many industrialists and labor leaders alike muttered heavily about Communism--it was also before the United States had recognized Russia.

To-day, with the NIRA an accomplished fact, Miss Perkins sits in the center of the upheaval that has substituted searching analysis for smug acceptance of precedent. And the first gun she fired upon becoming a Cabinet officer has long since ceased to rumble, but its echo is to be found in hundreds of thousands of young men throughout the nation.

On March 23, a few days after taking office, Madam Secretary made her Congressional debut before a committee which was considering what was then known as "President Roosevelt's plan to enlist 250,000 unemployed in a conservation corps to work on reforestation and similar projects." The plan was generally conceded to be her own, and she defended it with a keen acquaintance, which did much to foster the conviction that it was.

Her defense of the Conservation Corps bill was not halting. To the criticism of Representative Connery of Massachusetts that the proposed wage scale for the corps would tend to lower all wage scales, the Secretary of Labor replied tersely:

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"That doesn't make sense. If all common labor were reduced to one dollar a day, we would have complete national collapse. Such labor provides the bulk of the purchasing power of the country, and I believe industrialists realize it. They know they can not sell their output to a dried-up consumption market, and that is what they would have under a dollar-a-day wage."



Wide World

The Secretary of Labor gathered material for the steel code hearing direct from the working men.

And when Representative Welch of California asked if she thought it proper "to force a man to leave his family for a year to get one dollar a day," Miss Perkins returned: "Let us be realistic. We are not going to force any man to join this corps, but if I may speak lightly, too, it might be the best thing that would happen in some cases to separate a man from his family for a year."

Early in her public career, Miss Perkins, who by the way, is not a careerist, became known to her associates as "the political exponent of technical truth." Opposed for practically every position of consequence that she has ever held, she has invariably swept away any lingering opposition by her conduct in office and by her deep penetration and knowledge of pertinent facts.

Of medium stature, frank and engaging, she speaks slowly and distinctly. She often chuckles, and when she does her brilliant brown eyes soften and invite her listeners to chuckle also. She is always carefully tailored but never with a suggestion of modishness. The tricorne hat which she usually wears is achieving a place in Washington comparable to the brown derby of Al Smith in the New York capital. She is married, and in private life is Mrs. Paul Wilson, the wife of a financial analyst. Their one child, a daughter, named Susanne, is now seventeen years old, and makes all the normal claims on her mother's time and attention.

But there is a certain fine restraint and reticence about Miss Perkins. It is part of her inheritance from New England ancestry and tradition--she was born in Boston. About her work she talks freely, not to say fluently. But between her public office and her private life stands a wall so high and thick that none of the 300 Washington correspondents has yet been able to climb over or dig under it.

What almost amounts to a tradition has been built up around the suggestion that Miss Perkins's emotions were so deeply stirred by the horror of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, in 1911, that she thereafter dedicated her life to social betterment. The sober fact is that after having been graduated from

Mount Holyoke College, she became a teacher in Chicago, and while there, frequented the Chicago Commons, a welfare settlement house in the industrial district. She met Jane Addams and at about the same time read Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* and Vida Scudder's *A Listener in Babel*. The books made a great impression on her, and through them she began to have an appreciation of the relation of man to his environment and its effect upon him. When her term of teaching was finished she returned and spent six months with Jane Addams at Hull House, and her life work--the practical application of philosophy, sociology and economics--was established.

The Triangle fire in which 146, mostly girls, lost their lives, did send her to Albany to lobby for more civilized factory laws. She accomplished her mission, and in the course of her work met the young Franklin Roosevelt, Al Smith, and Robert Wagner. For six years she worked with a safety committee which forced more than thirty bills and practically an entirely new code of fire laws through the State Legislature. In 1923 Governor Smith gave her a place on the State Industrial Commission. In 1929 Governor Roosevelt made her head of it with a staff of 1,800.

When she undertook the Federal job she did so with characteristic thoroughness. Ten days after Roosevelt was inaugurated, she eliminated the Hoover-Doak Immigration Bureau "secret service," an organization of seventy-one detectives employed to investigate violations of labor laws, whose salaries amounted to \$11,000 a month. Within a month she had ordered the cessation of an employment effort which had cost \$900,000 a year, as "too unsatisfactory." In its stead she had proposed and is developing a system the purpose of which is to coordinate the local systems.

It must be borne in mind that the avowed purpose of the United States Department of Labor, which was established by President Wilson, in 1913, is the "fostering, promoting and developing the welfare of wage earners of the United States." When Secretary Perkins entered the Cabinet she recognized the great injustices that had been done the working man and woman through the misinformation of inaccurate employment statistics, and she set about the complete reorganization of that department to the end that Labor Department figures would give a true rather than politically favorable reflection of conditions.

Hers has been the "scientific approach" ever since her acquaintance in college with a professor, who accused her of being "lazy and glib." She applied that method recently when the NRA code for the steel industry was to come up for final hearing. In preparation for the hearing, Miss Perkins went to Pittsburgh, visited the steel mills and personally talked with dozens of the workmen who were stripped to the waist in the blistering heat of the furnaces. Then she ate lunch in the men's cafeteria, and matched coppers with one of the bosses to see who should pay the check.

When the hearing took place, therefore, it was the informed Cabinet officer who said, "Espionage, overspending and irregularity of hours and employment are the sources of the major complaints that have come to me. Whether the complaints are justified or not, these are the unfair practices that the working people are concerned with . . ."

This from an officer who was vigorously opposed by organized labor when her name was first suggested for the post.

It was during her personal investigation of the steel industry that Miss Perkins visited one of the mill towns to talk with "anybody who wanted to see me." But the burgess (mayor), fearful that radical agitators might enter the hall, ruled out some of the "anybodies," and even forbade the Secretary speaking in the public square. Miss Perkins regarded the burgess as one of the most "nervous" men she had ever met. But she was anxious to meet the workers, and asked if there might be a private building she might use; whereupon the village post-master volunteered the invitation: "There's the post-office, Madam Secretary."

It was Federal property. The meeting was held--without, incidentally, destroying the revered institutions of the nation.

Occasionally, Frances Perkins finds time to leave the exacting duties of endless consultations on wages, hours, and conditions under the NRA, the CWA, the CCC and other emergency organizations. When she does, she seeks complete escape.

Not long ago a friend of long standing, shopping in a large, metropolitan department store, was astounded to see the Secretary of Labor walking alone and unnoticed through the aisles. When greetings had been exchanged, Miss Perkins said she was having a short holiday, shopping and enjoying it tremendously--

"Because," she said, "I can walk through this store, buy whatever I wish, and nobody even knows me."

Those moments are fleeting. Frances Perkins has begun to work for even greater advances in the social scheme--and in passing it is more than interesting to observe with what sureness her proposals become actualities. Now, with the same quietness that marked her earliest efforts, she is convinced that standards may be raised still higher. Shorter hours, higher wages, the development of workers' purchasing power, the intensification of factory and workmen's compensation laws--these are things which she has driven into public consciousness.

To-day she proposes job insurance, and in discussing it she said, "Employers built up reserves for payment of dividends to tide industry over lean years, and they should provide for supplemental compensation to be paid workers out of jobs through no fault of their own."

Which may seem rather extreme until it is realized that in 1911, when Frances Perkins proposed the fifty-four hour week for women, that, too, was regarded as extreme.



THE FIGHT TO GET THE VOTE



THE FIGHT TO GET THE VOTE

Background

On August 18, 1920, the state of Tennessee ratified the 19th Amendment, culminating 72 years of struggle on the part of untold numbers of women to gain political equality with their male counterparts. Much of the effort has become obscured with the years, while other parts have been forgotten or deliberately consigned to what is considered unimportant history. Mildred Adams, in her book *The Right to Be People* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1967), describes the battle in this way:

Of all the forms that the war between the sexes has taken in our time, this campaign was one of the strangest. In some ways it was funny, and so it seemed to our great-grandfathers. In others it was pathetic. Funny in detail, pathetic that it had to be waged at all, and for so long. Its official life lasted from 1848 to 1920, seventy-two years, but premonitory rumblings began even earlier.

For many of those seven decades the cry for the vote named only one out of a collection of rights that women thought they wanted. As a goal, it was obscured by a tangle of other goals that were urged by women who seemed, at the moment, to think them all of equal importance. The abolition of slavery, temperance, dress reform, the right to rewrite the Bible in women's terms, to keep the money women earned, to wear trousers, to own land in their own names, to govern the upbringing of their children, to divorce errant husbands with reasonable ease--all these confused the suffrage issue. Free love was added by certain spectacular converts. Such demands ran in direct contradiction to Victorian customs. They generated enough emotional heat to divide families and turn supper tables into battlegrounds.

Not only did the demand of women for the vote come awkwardly, but it came at the wrong time (though nobody has yet suggested what would have been the right time). It came late, and as the tag end of a process by which the suffrage was extended from being a limited privilege possessed by white men who held property to being a general right accorded all men. This extension was granted reluctantly, and sometimes after great violence. In the case of Negroes it was granted only after a civil war. But it was done.

Why, then, should the whole atmosphere and temper of society have changed when women, however belatedly, asked the same right? What was there about the combination of the woman and the ballot that seemed so howlingly funny? Our male ancestors in large numbers certainly found it so, and they were not all foolish men. Why should ridicule have alternated with anger?

Yet for more than half a century the conviction that the vote was worth fighting for would be passed on from woman to woman with all the strength of a religious belief. For most of the time the suffragists worked without pay, and without comfort or much encouragement. They had no funds except for occasional gifts and a few small

bequests, which came at long intervals. Theirs was largely a pin-money campaign, supported by their own sacrifices and by collections taken up when their lectures had moved a scanty audience to visible approval.

It was a remarkably selfless campaign. The women who spent their lives in it were not working for themselves, but for the common good. They were working for the better status of women in a democracy and for the better conduct of that democracy. They honestly believed that women, then a minority in the adult population, should have the vote because they were citizens, and as a tool with which to improve not only their own legal status, but also the laws and the government of the nation.

Under the circumstances the suffrage campaign inevitably took on the characteristics of a crusade. There is no doubt that most of the crusaders enjoyed it (though sometimes grimly). It gave them a feeling of importance, a great goal, and a purpose held in common with other women. It also gave them heady chances to test their own powers in the larger world. Angels they never were, and at times sharp rivalry appeared between them. But they felt, almost without exception, that they were following a star. That star stood not for individual gain but for a better world. (Pp. 2-3)

It is difficult from our perspective today to comprehend what was so threatening about women participating in the most basic functions of citizenship. However, during those long, arduous years of struggle the suffragists faced opposition from the majority of women as well as men. This opposition was founded on religious interpretations and economic interests. Although the emphasis *seemed* to be a conviction that Christian women should vote only through their husbands, there was a strong undercurrent of influence by business concerns which felt that women's suffrage would threaten their economic stability. Women were warned that political activity would bring about spontaneous miscarriages due to the excitement of voting, the family would be threatened as a unit, their femininity would dissolve if they participated in such a masculine activity, unborn children would be irreparably damaged. Even the thought of voting was a sin against God and nature. Preachers thundered from pulpits for those many years about the unnatural act of female suffrage. Magazines, newspapers, journals, and periodicals printed untold articles extolling the "feminine" woman who declined to vote. An examination of some of these would lead present-day students to shake their heads in disbelief. None of these arguments seem rational in the light of today's experience. It would seem that there must be more to it than meets the eye. Perhaps these arguments were red herrings thrown up for consideration by other interests.

The less-publicized opposition to women's suffrage had a great deal more political clout than mere public opinion. Industries felt that their economic well-being depended upon denying women the vote. There was the fear that once women voted, child labor would cease to exist, unhealthy working conditions would have to be rectified, wages for women would rise. There may have been some basis for these fears, as women were involved in all the social reform movements of the period. However, these reforms did not automatically take place upon passage of the 19th Amendment. Probably the greatest fear was that of the liquor interests. Women had been actively involved in the temperance movement

for many years. The brewers of many states spent millions of dollars to ensure that the legislators did not vote for what was hoped to be the 16th Amendment, then the 17th Amendment, and the 18th Amendment. Ironically, the 18th Amendment prohibited the use and production of alcoholic beverages--before women got the vote. The Southern Pacific Railroad, which dominated California politics around the turn of the century, effectively kept legislators from giving California women the vote. It was the practice of the railroad to buy votes, and they did not feel that they could pay women with liquor for their votes. Southern legislators joined with their Northern compatriots to deny women's suffrage, as it would entail giving the Negro women the vote. New England legislators played upon the fear of Protestants that women's suffrage would give Roman Catholic women the vote. It was a combination of prejudice and fear of losing power that effectively denied women the right to vote for so long.

There were states which conferred this right upon their women citizens. Why did this take place in the western part of the United States, while the East and South were fighting it with all their might? We generally think that it was the egalitarian nature of this part of the country which produced this political equality. It is disillusioning, however, to note that this is not true. Wyoming, which was the first state to permit women to vote, did this while still a territory. Wyoming was known as a place of great violence. Gun battles, vice, crime, rough gun-slinging cowboys were its image. In order to change its image so that it would be admitted as a state, women were given the vote. Strangely enough, the fears that women would be attacked, offended, lose their babies, faint from the excitement of voting did not take place. Wyoming was admitted as a state and was probably the only state where the polls were conducted in a fair and decorous manner. Utah was the next state to confer this right upon women. What were its motives? Initially this move conferred great power upon the Mormons, as each Mormon wife was expected to vote as her husband instructed her. Congressional efforts to pass antipolygamy legislation effectively increased the political hold of non-Mormons in Utah. It becomes evident that whenever it served the purpose of those in power, whether political or economic, for women to vote, they did so. Where it didn't serve these purposes, they didn't.

What was it that carried and sustained the countless women who worked for so long in a seemingly losing battle? It is difficult to understand how Elizabeth Cady Stanton could devote 54 years of her life to this cause. The same must be true about Susan B. Anthony, who wrote the words to the 19th Amendment in 1870--and then died in 1906 before it was adopted. How many of us today could fight for something with the same zeal? To them and to all the others who will not go down in *any* history book the entire country owes a debt of gratitude for what they did and for being what they were, persons we can emulate. Perhaps it would help if we could understand the process which developed these people.

Abolition was the cause which first awoke women to a realization of their political potentialities. Southern women as well as Northern women joined in the fight against the inequity of slavery. When it became apparent that their condition was similar to that of slaves, the movement expanded to include women's rights. Although the movement was small at first, it grew as more and more women became educated. The belief that becoming educated would dry up a woman's reproductive organs obviously did not deter all women who wished to use their minds as well. As women discovered that it was fun and rewarding to use their minds, more and more women joined what we today ridicule as women's clubs. However, it was this experience which prepared women for the battle. They read

books and discussed them. They analyzed the political scene. They found out that they could talk about things other than babies, recipes, and husbands. They discovered their ability to speak in public. They uncovered the strength which had lain dormant for so many years, the strength to champion an unpopular cause once convinced of its correctness. They were not prepared for this work by any of the institutions which existed at the time. For this reason they were vilified, ostracized, diminished, and degraded, yet they persisted and were joined by fair-minded men.

The fears that were expressed during the years of the long fight have never materialized. The destruction of femininity has not taken place; women did not lose babies in the polling places; families were not destroyed each election day. The liquor companies have recovered from male-approved prohibition. The nation has not been destroyed by the black woman's vote--nor from that of the immigrant woman. Suffrage was, however, but one step on the long road to helping women realize their full human potential.

Objectives

1. Students will read excerpts from magazine articles from the years 1870-1912 dealing with expectations of womankind. On the basis of these excerpts, students will demonstrate their understanding of the attitudes towards women by constructing a composite picture of what was considered a normal woman of the period.
2. Students will identify the pros and cons involved in the women's suffrage movement.
3. Students will recognize the difficulties of taking a lifelong stance upon a controversial topic.
4. Students will demonstrate a recognition of sexist bias in textbooks by recommending and writing revisions to standard history texts.

ACTIVITY I. A COMPOSITE OF A "NORMAL" WOMAN

A. Construct a composite description of a "normal" woman on the basis of the following articles:

1. "A Famed Biologist's Warning of the Peril in Votes for Women" (page 119)
2. "Woman's Glorious Opportunities" (page 122)
3. "The Feminine Charms of the Woman Militant" (page 124)
4. "Bishop Doane and Woman Suffrage" (page 125)
5. "Female Suffrage: A Letter to the Christian Women of America" (page 127)

B. Are there any points that all articles agree on as the "normal" pursuits and characteristics of women?

C. Do they describe "abnormality" of women differently?

D. Reconstruct a composite description of women suffragists of this period (using the same articles) from either a prosuffragist or an antisuffragist viewpoint, using some or all of the phrases below:

1. "...common bond of sisterhood"
2. "...women forced into wage-earning employments"
3. "...deserted homes and neglected babies, unused cook stoves, and undarned socks"
4. "...the desire to vote"
5. "...feminine charm"
6. "...efficiency in the domestic arts"
7. "...womanly women"
8. "...mannish women"
9. "...savage woman"
10. "...womanly interests"
11. "...safeguarding the home"
12. "...find husbands for daughters"
13. "...work on servant problems"
14. "...sharp tongues, saturated with bitterness and venom"
15. "...mental disorder . . . physical emergencies"
16. "...lesser intellect and physical strength"

ACTIVITY II. PRO AND CON ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

- A. Read excerpt from Flexner, and look up or distribute to students the 17th Amendment to Constitution (see page 129).
1. Write a paragraph on the effect of economic interests upon legislation prior to ratification of the 17th Amendment.
 2. As a lobbyist write a 50-word telegram directing your senator on how to vote on women's suffrage and explain why you used the reasons you did.
 3. Role-play a gathering of liquor lobbyists who are congratulating themselves on another one of the many defeats of the proposed women's suffrage amendment. Include the threat of prohibition, which brewers considered to be valid. Also include the following red herrings:
 - a. Women could not physically withstand the stress and excitement of voting.
 - b. Women's suffrage would destroy the family, setting husband against wife.
 - c. Women's suffrage would damage women's unborn babies.
 - d. Women's brains could not function well enough to vote.

Have the 6-10 students portraying the lobbyists sit in the center of a larger circle of other students in a fishbowl fashion. Different students can then rotate into the center to take their turn at role-playing. Make one in-group all male and another all-female to facilitate an awareness of the difference/similarity of male/female perceptions.

- B. Read "The Woman Voter Hits the Color Line," a selection from Andrew Sinclair's *The Emancipation of the American Woman*, and "Who Opposed Woman Suffrage?" Discuss the following questions in small groups (see pages 130-132):
1. Why would black women's vote be feared even in Idaho and Massachusetts, where they were a slim minority?
 2. Discuss in terms of the underlying prejudicial attitudes the common elements in the opposition to the immigrant and black women's vote.
 3. Relate these attitudes to the restrictions of voting requirements in the early history of our nation.
 4. How would you have refuted these arguments if you were leaders of the women's suffrage movement?
- C. Read excerpts from "The Southern Lady from Pedestal to Politics " (see page 133).
1. List reasons why the business people of the South opposed women's suffrage.

2. Write a paragraph on "Why Only Four Southern States Ratified the 19th Amendment." Include all the information from this unit.
- D. Read all the collateral articles for this activity, the excerpts from magazines of this period of history, and use these materials to devise pro and con arguments for a debate or a simulated session of Congress arguing the proposal to amend the constitution for women's suffrage. Resolved: Women should have the vote.
1. Excerpt from Flexner (page 129)
 2. "The Woman Voter Hits the Color Line" (page 130)
 3. Selection from Andrew Sinclair's *The Emancipation of the American Woman* (page 131)
 4. "Who Opposed Woman Suffrage?" (page 132)
 5. Excerpt from *The Southern Lady from Pedestal to Politics* (page 133)
 6. "Why Women Do Not Wish the Suffrage" (page 135)
 7. "Why Women Should Have the Ballot" (page 136)
 8. "An Electorate of Men and Women" (page 137)
 9. Excerpt from *History of Woman Suffrage* (page 138)
 10. "Why Women Should Vote" (page 139)

ACTIVITY III. EARLY FEMINIST LEADERS

- A. Have students read the article "The United States of America vs. Susan B. Anthony." Dramatize the court scene at the end (page 141).
- B. Have students read the biographical sketches in "Suffragists Still Going Strong" (page 146). As high school counselors how would they help prepare the women described in the article for their life's work? They must keep in mind the cultural norms of the times as evidenced in Bishop Doane's letter and the *Good Housekeeping* article in the previous section.
- C. Have students take current social studies or history books and pretend they are a community interest group and want to revise the current text to include women, an adequate consideration of the suffrage movement, and its impact upon the American scene. What would be the group's specific recommendation?
- D. Have students read Elizabeth Cady Stanton's letter to Lucretia Mott and identify the aims of the feminist movement. Which of the aims of 1848 were met at the writing of the letter? Would she consider them met by the 1976 Bicentennial? Explain.
- E. Have students read the biographical articles already referred to above. Then they may identify two current women in their community or state or on the national level. Using interviews, books, or articles, they may write a one-page paper on each woman which focuses on their long and arduous fight for their beliefs and the price they paid for their stance. (Examples: Shirley Chisholm, Madelyn Murray O'Hare, Angela Davis, Jeanette Rankin, Emma Goldman, Bella Abzug, Betty Friedan, Ella Grasso, Sissy Farenthold, Rosa Parks, etc.)

A FAMED BIOLOGIST'S WARNING OF THE PERIL IN
VOTES FOR WOMEN *

FOR man the physiology and psychology of woman are full of difficulties. He is not a little mystified when he encounters, in her periodically recurring phases of hypersensitiveness, unreasonableness and loss of the sense of proportion. He is frankly perplexed when confronted with a complete alteration of character in a woman who is child-bearing. When he is a witness of the "tendency of woman to morally warp when nervously ill," and of the terrible physical havoc which the pangs of a disappointed love may work, he is appalled. It leaves upon his mind an eerie feeling when he sees serious and long-continued mental disorders developing in connection with the approaching extinction of a woman's reproductive faculty. No man can close his eyes to these things. But he does not feel at liberty to speak of them.

In this way does that distinguished British biologist and student of physiology, Sir Almroth Wright, begin in the columns of the *London Times* an indictment of woman the capacity of voter so sensational that it has plunged the entire suffragist camp of London into uproar. Sir Almroth admits that woman herself makes light of "these mental upsettings." She perhaps smiles a little, he says, at them all. None the less, he contends, these upsettings of her mental equilibrium are the things that a woman has most cause to fear. No doctor can ever lose sight of the fact that the mind of woman is always threatened with danger from "reverberations of her physical emergencies." It is with such thoughts, adds this noted scientist, that the doctor lets his eyes rest upon the suffraget, more particularly upon the militant suffraget. He can not shut his eyes to the truth that there is mixed up with the present woman's movement much mental disorder, and he can not conceal from himself the physical emergencies which lie behind.

First—Sir Almroth puts them first—come a class of women who hold, with minds otherwise unwarped, that they may, whenever it is to their advantage, lawfully resort to physical violence. The program, as distinguished from the methods, of these women is not very different from that of the ordinary suffragist woman.

There file past next a class of women who have all their lives long been strangers to joy, women in whom instincts long suppressed have in the end broken into flame. These are, to Sir Almroth, the sexually embittered women in whom everything has turned to gall and bitterness of heart and hatred of men. Their legislative program is license for themselves or else restrictions for men.

Next, according to this authority, there file past the incomplete. One side of their nature has undergone atrophy. The result is that they have lost touch with their living fellow-men and women. Their program is to convert the whole world into an epicene institution—an epicene institution in which man and woman shall everywhere work side by side at the self-same tasks and for the self-same pay. These wishes can never, declares Sir Almroth, by any possibility be realized. Even in animals—Sir Almroth says "even" because in these at least one of the sexes has periods of complete quiescence—male and female can not be safely worked side by side except when they are incomplete. While in the human species safety can be obtained, it can be obtained only at the price of continual restraint. Even then woman, tho she protests that she does not require it and that she does not receive it, practically does always receive differential treatment at the hands of man. It would be well that every woman should be clearly told—and the women of the world will immediately understand—that when man sets his face against the proposal to bring in an epicene world he does so because he can do his best work only in surroundings free from suggestion and from restraint and from the onus which all differential treatment imposes. When a medical man asks that he be not made the yoke-fellow of a medical woman, he does so also because he would wish to keep up as between men and women—even when they are doctors—some of the modesties and reticences upon which our civilization has been built up. Now the medical woman is, says Sir Almroth, never on the side of modesty or in favor of any reticences. Her desire for knowledge does not allow of these.

Inextricably mixed up with the types which Sir Almroth thus discusses is the woman who is poisoned, according to him, by her misplaced self-esteem, who flies out at every man who does not pay homage to her intellect. She is the woman who is affronted when a man avers that for him the glory of woman lies in her power of attraction, in her capacity for motherhood and in unswerving allegiance to the ethics which are special to her sex. In the wake of these embittered women come troops of girls just grown up:

"All these will assure you, these young girls—and what is seething in their minds is stirring also in the minds of the girls in the colleges and schools which are staffed by unmarried suffragists—that woman has suffered all manner of indignity and injustice at the hands of man. And these young girls have been told about the intellectual and moral and financial value of woman—such tales as it never entered into the heart of man to conceive. The program of these young women is to be married upon their own terms. Man shall—so runs their scheme—work for their support—to that end giving up his freedom and putting himself under orders for many hours of the day; but they themselves must not be asked to give up any of their liberty to him, or to subordinate themselves to his interests. . . .

"There is also a quite fatuous element in the program of the militant suffragist. We have this element, for instance, in the doctrine that, notwithstanding the fact that the conditions of the labor market deny it to her, woman ought to receive the same wage as a man for the same work. This doctrine is fatuous, because it leaves out of sight that, even if woman succeeds in doing the same work as man, he has behind him a much larger reserve of physical strength. As soon as a time of strain comes, a reserve of strength and freedom from periodic indisposition is worth paying extra for. Fatuous also is the dogma that woman ought to have the same pay for the same work—fatuous because it leaves out of sight that woman's commercial value in many of the best fields of work is subject to a very heavy discount by reason of the fact that she cannot, like a male employee, work cheek by jowl with a male employer, nor work among men as a man with his fellow-employees. So much for the woman suffragist's protest that she can conceive of no reason for a differential rate of pay for man. Quite as fatuous are the marriage projects of the militant suffragist.

* *Current Literature*, LIII (July-December 1912): 59-62.

Every woman of the world could tell her—whispering it into her private ear—that if a sufficient number of men should come to the conclusion that it was not worth their while to marry except on the terms of fair give-and-take, the suffragist woman's demands would have to come down. It is not at all certain that the institution of matrimony—which, after all, is the great instrument in the levelling up of the financial situation of woman—can endure apart from some willing subordination on the part of the wife."

In addition to the element of mental disorder and the element of the fatuous, Sir Almroth enumerates a very ugly element of dishonesty. The very kernel of the militant suffrage movement, he asserts, is the element of immorality—not only immorality in the ends in view, but in the methods adopted. "There is no one who does not discern that woman in her relations to physical force stands in quite a different position to man. Out of that different relation there must of necessity shape itself a special code of ethics for woman. And to violate that code must be for woman immorality." So far as Sir Almroth has seen, no one has laid a finger upon the essential point of the relations of woman to physical violence. It has been stated—and in the main quite truly stated—that woman in the mass can not, like man, back up her vote by bringing physical violence into play. But the woman suffragist here counters by insisting that she as an individual may have more physical force than an individual man. It is quite certain that woman in the mass can bring a certain amount of physical force to bear. The true inwardness of the relation in which woman stands to physical force lies not in the question of her having it at command, but in the fact that she can not put it forth without placing herself in the jurisdiction of an ethical law. The law against which she offends when she resorts to physical violence is not an ordinance of man, it is not written in the statutes of any state, it has not been enunciated by any human lawgiver. It belongs to those unwritten and unassailable and irreversible commandments of religion which we suddenly and mysteriously become aware of when we see them violated.

"Up to the present in the whole civilized world there has ruled a truce of God as between man and woman. That truce is based upon the solemn covenant that within the frontiers of civilization (outside them of course the rule lapses) the weapon of physical force may not be applied by man against woman nor by woman against man. Under this covenant the reign of force which prevails in the world without comes to an end when a man enters his household. Under this covenant that half of the human race which most needs protection is raised up above the waves of violence. Within the terms of this compact everything that woman has received from man and everything man receives from woman is given as a free gift. Again, under this covenant a full half of the program of Christianity has been realized; and a foundation has been laid upon which it may be possible to build higher, and perhaps finally in the ideal future to achieve the abolition of physical violence and war. And it is this solemn covenant, the covenant so faithfully kept by man, which has been violated by the militant suffragist. . . .

"To take examples. A vote cast in favor of a Bill for the prohibition of alcohol—if we could find opportunity for giving a vote on such a question—would be a formal expression of our desire to apply through the agency of the paid servants of the State that same physical compulsion which Mrs. Carrie Nation put into application in her 'bar-smashing' crusades. And a vote which puts a Government into office in a country where murder is punishable by death is a vote which, by agency of the hangman, puts the noose round the neck of every convicted murderer. So that the difference between voting and direct resort to force is simply the difference between exerting physical violence in person and exerting it through the intermediary of an agent of the State.

"The thing, therefore, that is withheld from the noblest woman in England while it is conceded to the man who is lacking in nobility of character is in the end only an instrument by which she might bring into application physical force. When one realizes that that same noblest woman of England would shrink from any personal exercise of violence, one would have thought that it would have come home to her that it is not precisely her job to commission a man forcibly to shut up a public-house or to hang a murderer."

To attempt, however, to measure the mental and physical capacities of women in Sir Almroth's fashion is absurd, according to that distinguished student of woman's life and work, Frances Forbes Robertson, whose reply to the eminent man of science delights the suffragets. We quote the version supplied by the *London Standard*:

"We must not forget, in taking a medical man's opinion, that we are taking a prejudiced one. His observations are solely turned upon abnormal persons—the sick and the hysterical—the diseased; never on the healthy. Nature did not build the female on the lines that so confound Sir Almroth. Hysteria and madness are the outcome of physical decadence caused by improper living; man's supremacy has, unhappily, caused his decadence. He has shut his women in close rooms, tied her ankles together, put a string round her waist, and encased her feet in absurd little shoes that she might not walk too freely. These things have become fashions, but we should not lose sight of their origin. They were enforced to hold the female from the too numerous male prowling without.

"The mental distress suffered by quite a small minority of women of middle-age is caused by the unnatural life they lead—a life based on an exaggerated idea of sex, and led in the house and in occupations which have never seriously interested their minds. . . . But this mental illness and irresponsibility rarely occurs to the woman who has intellectual interests and occupations which command control over her nervous organization, and particularly those which take her among strangers, away from the petty domesticities which are, believe me, of little use to man or woman. The woman who earns her living and is decently paid does not become incapable at the change of life. There are thousands of school teachers, journalists, painters, actresses, hospital nurses, matrons, doing excellent responsible work between the ages of forty-five and sixty. But the doctor knows little about such women, since they do not require to seek his aid, being healthy and normal.

"The unbalanced mind is not common only to the female. Statistics show us that more men commit suicide than women, and more young men under the influence of love commit murder and crime."

With all deference to Sir Almroth for his brilliant work in a chemical and bacteriological laboratory, another noted London physician, Dr. Herbert Mills, writes in the *London Times* that the biologist's words betray a terrible ignorance of the

class of women, rank and file, who work in the suffrage movement. To cite as typical certain pathological perversions of a normal function, which in the great majority of women has no disabling effect whatever, is absolutely and hopelessly not scientific. And the distinguished authority upon medical themes, Sir Victor Horsely, puts in his word of protest. He considers that Sir Almroth Wright's statements are "most repulsive in the debased picture they present of woman in her relation to man." He holds that the "perverted ideas of the relations of the two sexes" are physiologically and neurologically untrue, and he imagines that few medical men will have read the passage with reference to the "incomplete woman" without disgust:

"Certainly all those who have worked for years in the mixed committees or in the Metropolitan Branch Council of the British Medical Association will join in protesting against Sir A. Wright's suggestion that 'when a medical man asks that he should not be the yoke-fellow of a medical woman' it is because such cooperation can only be obtained 'at the price of continual constraint' on the part of the man. . . . Sir A. Wright has also insulted his profession and his sex. In truth, his statements and allegations are essentially pornographic, for to medical practitioners in consultation 'modesties and reticences' have no existence, save to a prurient mind. The women medical practitioners have shown the world what is real modesty, and have always stood for a single code of moral conduct which should ennoble the lives of men and women alike.

"Sir Almroth Wright complains that the 'incomplete women' wish to convert the world into an 'epicene institution in which men and women shall everywhere work side by side at the selfsame tasks and for the selfsame pay.' Why does he attribute to women alone this aspiration for common justice and social reform? The equality of the sexes in work, and the equality of their pay for the selfsame work, is the fundamental principle of his own profession."

The point which Sir Almroth overlooks, in the opinion of the suffraget ladies generally, is the question of efficiency. Is human efficiency increased or decreased by participation of the sexes upon an equal basis in the world's work? The well-known organ of the cause, *Votes for Women* (London), insists that statistics vindicate the suffragist contention and disprove every point alleged by the famed biologist.

Woman's Glorious Opportunities.*

By Henry T. Finck,

AUTHOR OF "PRIMITIVE LOVE AND LOVE STORIES," ETC

BABIES are weak, helpless creatures, with mere buds of intelligence, but there is one thing they learn in a very short time: that they can get anything they want by simply bawling for it louder and louder. The foolish fondness of their mothers does the rest. It is not surprising that some women should have made a note of this fact, and tried to profit by the same tactics. Not long ago one of the leading suffragists, speaking of the alleged "universal discontent and rebellion among women," blurted out frankly: "One would suppose that men would be sick unto death of this never-ending, ever-increasing clamor," and end it by giving these women what they want! Fortunately, men are not like the fond and foolish mothers, who would give their babies the sun or moon to play with. With cold, relentless logic they point out that it would be unwise to let women have the franchise for three simple, stubborn reasons: First, none of them need it; secondly, most of them do not want it; thirdly, if they got it much more harm than good would result to themselves and others.

Nevertheless, it is in the domestic sphere that woman's most glorious opportunities lie. Ninety-four of every hundred women get married, and it is within the power of mothers so to bring up their sons that they will always cast such votes as they themselves would cast. Thus every mother controls as many votes as she has sons. What more could she desire? As for the six per cent. who do not marry, surely life ought not to be arranged to suit their plans, and with reference solely to their abnormal condition. They are no longer maltreated or despised as in former times, and they have every possible opportunity for congenial employment, so they may be happy tho not married. If they are well-to-do, they can find an outlet for their energies in art or literature, or various branches of charitable work, in which so many women have nobly distinguished themselves.

Unlimited opportunities for improvement are still offered by what is the most elemental of all feminine functions. Motherhood, with most women, is still little more than maternity—an instinct they have in common with the lowest animals. It is commonly assumed that this instinct is all that is needed, but it is not. Babies are not as hardy as young animals and therefore require more intelligent care and affection. Hygienic experiments in asylums have proved that the frightful infant mortality in our cities is largely due to maternal ignorance and the folly of fond indulgence. The other day I saw a mother in a car with her twin babies. They were sickly looking, yet she gave one of them a banana to eat, the other a bar of candied peanuts—two of the most indigestible things in the world, even for robust adults. This mother, no doubt, would have been horrified at the mere thought of deliberately inflicting on her infants such pain as they must have suffered that night; yet in her ignorance she was not only inflicting that temporary pain, but was ruining their digestion and health and shortening their life. Such cases of cruel "fondness"—which might be multiplied indefinitely—show that without intelligence and knowledge there can be no affection of the highest type. If the suffragists devoted their energies to combating such dangerous ignorance, they would do infinitely more good to the human race than the ballot would ever enable them to accomplish.

One of the most important functions of motherhood is to find husbands for daughters. The way this is usually done forms a staple subject of ridicule in the comic papers. But there is a very serious side to it, especially in the cities. A great city is like a wilderness in the difficulty it presents to busy people of making desirable acquaintances. One of the favorite methods of overcoming this difficulty is to give parties. But as a rule these gatherings begin at so late an hour that sensible men, who have regard for their health and wish to do the next day's work honestly, are obliged to avoid them; so that their main object is

* *Independent*, LIII (May 30, 1901): 1238-1242.

frustrated. And why do these parties begin so late? Because those of the millionaires do. It is simply one phase of the silly aping of the rich, which, in diverse ways, does so much harm in this country. Vanity is less deadly than whisky, but I believe it creates nearly as much unhappiness. Two-thirds of the young girls who leave home to be typewriters or shop or factory girls do so not from necessity, but to get clothes to wear that will make them appear like the rich, and the results are too often disastrous. Instead of encouraging this tendency, suffragists ought to try to teach the girls that there are things in this world infinitely more important than the fine dresses for which so many of them go out into a world full of temptations and pitfalls. All girls should be made familiar with the sensible ideas of the Japanese regarding the vulgarity of mere wealth, and the gross display of it. Here is a field of missionary activity capable of unlimited expansion.

Then there is the servant problem! If the suffragists will only go to work and solve that, I shall be the first to take off my hat and concede their right not only to vote on anything they please, but to regulate the affairs of the whole solar system. One branch of this question—gastronomy—alone offers opportunities untold. It is foolish to sneer at the old saying that the way to a man's heart is through his stomach. Eating, to be sure, is a purely sensual pleasure, but that is no reason for condemning it. On the contrary, unless it is a sensual pleasure digestion is not carried on properly, and dyspepsia ensues, followed by insomnia, nervousness, peevishness and general breakdown. Good or bad temper is in three cases out of four a mere matter of digestion. Hence, gastronomy is a hygienic and moral question of the first importance, which is shamefully neglected in most households. Electricity will doubtless ere long transform the sooty kitchen into an art studio, which will make it more popular with women. When that time comes cooks will no longer be expected to do the washing. Laundry work is too difficult and muscularizing for women, anyway, and should be done by men and machinery.

By making proper use of her beauty, sympathy, winsomeness, and of soft, refined blandishments—that is, by being what men want her to be, an enchantress and not a rival—woman can be practically ruler of the world without ever casting a vote. This, like love, is an old story, but it will remain forever new. The equal suffragist, indeed, once more lifts up her voice to protest against the laws of nature. "To ask that woman should be winsome and make use of soft blandishments is," she vociferates, "to think of her as a thing, not as a person; and, in any case, it is not for men to decide what women shall be." But I cannot for the world see why a woman who indulges in "soft blandishments," or, to cite the dictionary, makes use of "speech or action expressive of affection or kindness, and tendency to win the heart; an artful caress, flattering attention, cajolery, endearment," should be a "thing" any more than one who, on account of her lack of these qualities, fails to attract marrying men. Was there ever an enchantress among the scoffers at winsome womanhood? I merely ask for information. As for man's right to decide what women shall be like, that is inalienable and eternal. Just as the women have helped to make the men what they are by marrying those who were the stronger, more robust, courageous, aggressive, successful, manly, so men have made—and will continue to make—women what they want them to be by marrying those who correspond to their ideal of womanliness; and as the daughters of these inherit their traits, the law of natural selection will provide for the prevalence of womanly women, while mannish women, like effeminate men, will always remain abnormal exceptions. We may, therefore, answer the question asked in the first article of this series, "Are Womanly Women Doomed?" with an emphatic No. Time will show.

COLLATERAL READING III
(ACTIVITY I)

THE FEMININE CHARMS OF THE WOMAN MILITANT*

Although most of the pioneer reformers were notable housekeepers that fact seldom reached the public. The men who began the long campaign of ridicule did not bother to find out that Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was head of a beautifully ordered home, and that Mrs. Amelia J. Bloomer, who revolted against hoop skirts, attended to every detail in the keeping of her pretty cottage at Seneca Falls, New York. It was not generally known that Miss Susan B. Anthony was an adept with her needle and that she did the most exquisite darning when she was thinking of her speeches.

To those who know the women to whom has descended the responsibility of leading the battle for the ballot it seems as if the doubts cast upon the housekeeping attainments of advocates of equal suffrage had caused in them a special preparation in the domestic arts. The truth is, however, that the women who have the highest ideals of life are the women who make their homes the centers of beauty and harmony.

This thought is presented forcibly to all who have the privilege of visiting Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in her apartment overlooking Central Park, New York City. As president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Mrs. Catt occupies the most distinguished position among suffragists. Her duties call her upon world-girdling tours, from which she returns to an ever increasing enjoyment of the home which she shares with Miss Mary Garrett

Hay, club woman and suffragist. Mrs. Catt is a gracious hostess at many entertainments to which are bidden men and women interested in the world's progressive work. For years Mrs. Catt's Thanksgiving dinners have been famous. This distinguished woman, who has been welcomed as a state visitor in many a foreign land and has been received with honors everywhere, gives her personal attention to the annual feast. As the last of all her hospitable tasks she goes into her kitchen to make pumpkin pies. Mrs. Catt's pumpkin pies are compounded according to a recipe treasured from her girlhood days. They are old-fashioned in their flakiness of crust and their abundance of golden custard—"filling" they used to call it. Real pumpkins, not base tinned imitations, are employed for the delicious custard, the flavor of which recalls memories of childhood delights. It has been said that if Mrs. Catt's pumpkin pies could be distributed among the legislators of the land every state would have an early opportunity to vote on a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage!

In the lead among advocates of forward movements is Mrs. Frederick Nathan, president of the National Consumers' League, a society formed for ameliorating the condition of working women. Long ago when she first came into the knowledge of the numerous handicaps under which women labor she began to be an earnest suffragist. Her activities have widened year after year, but although big affairs may claim her energies all day long, those who know her intimately feel that she has not left her home until she has given her personal supervision to every detail of the household routine. With all of her many and varied responsibilities Mrs. Nathan adheres to many good old customs, started when she began housekeeping thirty years ago. She puts up her own pickles and preserves and there are days when, as a pleasant relaxation from her executive work for the Consumers' League, she makes cake or prepares choice dishes, the recipes for which have been in her family for generations.

*Mary Holland Kinkaid, *Good Housekeeping*, LIV (February 1912).

COLLATERAL READING IV

(Activity I)

BISHOP DOANE AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.*

BY MARGARET NOBLE LEE.

Bishop Doane of Albany recently contributed to the woman suffrage discussion, an article entitled "Why Women Do Not Want the Ballot." The reader is led to expect a recital of women's reasons for their presumed unwillingness to accept political rights. The "whys" adduced prove to be exclusively the bishop's own, coupled with an exhortation to both sexes to do all in their power to prevent women from ever obtaining the ballot.

At the outset the bishop classifies woman suffragists as follows:

Class one, "to be eliminated from the discussion because they fly into a frenzy . . . and are only vulgarly violent, with sharp tongues or sharper pens saturated with bitterness and venom."

Class two, "with whom one cannot deal without sacrificing self-respect or reverence, who revile Holy Scripture, holy matrimony, St. Paul, even our dear Lord Himself."

Class three, "a very different class of women and men, to whose sober second thought it is worth while to appeal."

This classification warrants the bishop's protest if it truthfully describes the general character of women who desire the ballot. But who are the women to-day identified with the suffrage movement? They include the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, who have as an organization enrolled in the cause; the Social Purity League, the White Cross Society, organized bodies of women wage-earners, and the majority of women engaged in the public-spirited, philanthropic, or mission work in every city; and, not least, growing numbers of young women in the Christian Endeavor Society, who are religiously pledged to good citizenship. To which of the classes do these women belong—brawlers, blasphemers, or the misguided? In which class do the great leaders of the movement belong—Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Livermore, Miss Willard, Rev. Anna Shaw? Either the bishop's classification comprehends these societies and individuals, or he has passed over the rank and file and their leaders, and turned his batteries upon isolated stragglers and camp-followers. The bishop deplures especially the godless drift of the cause; and yet in Wyoming, where woman suffrage has existed long enough to show its drift, polling places are frequently located in church parlors. Equally significant is the intuitive hostility to woman suffrage of saloons and allied forces, which foresee disaster in the success of the reform. Many such facts as these are inexplicable on the bishop's assumption.

The bishop asserts:

2. The old political proverb, "No taxation without representation," is utterly inapplicable to this question. It grew out of the tyrannical action of a government across the sea in which not one of all the people on whom the tax was levied had the faintest voice in the framing of the laws nor in the choice of the government. . . . But women who are taxed *are* represented by their relatives, by their potent influence, and by man's sense of justice.

The pith of this assertion is that our famous tax creed does not apply to women, for the reason that women who are taxed are represented by some or all of the three agencies deemed by the bishop equivalent to suffrage for women. While one is tempted to inquire whether the bishop would be willing to vest his vote in his relatives, merge it in his potent influence, or waive it, confiding to man's sense of justice, the point may be conceded that if women who are taxed can be proved to be represented, the old adage is inapplicable.

The claim that taxed women are represented involves the admission of their right to representation. It remains to determine in what way this is provided for and secured to them. Representation in any sense worth the name has as its essential characteristic the responsibility of the representative to those he represents, who on election day can bring him to strict accountability. Clearly the representation accorded to women by the bishop is not of this kind; it has no legal sanction; it is optional with the representative; it is a voluntary guardianship, such as the government extends to Indians *not taxed*. The colonists were favored with this mode of representation. They had relatives "across the sea"; they had "potent influence" in Parliament; they had "man's sense of justice" to rely upon. They refused to pay taxes; they rebelled. They knew that representation without responsibility is mockery.

Even if this *pseudo* representation were adequate, taxed women would be least assured of it, for the majority of them are husbandless, and their male relatives may have wives of their own to "represent" or may differ from them in political opinions. Tax-paying widows and single women thus comprise a class of political pariahs bearing the burdens of government but subject to the will of the governing caste. In New York State, for example, on an assessed valuation of a billion dollars, women pay in round numbers one million dollars in taxes, more money than the British government annually exacted from the colonists.

* *The Arena*, XV (1896): 642-653.

The theory of vicarious representation for women is founded upon the timeworn notion that the family is the political unit, that all women worth considering are married, and that the married woman is still a *femme couverte*, with neither personality, nor force in the state. But the family is not the *political* unit in any sense. A political unit has a single vote and retains that vote. A family may have one vote, may have many, or may have none. The voting strength of the family depends on the number of males in it, and families without male members are political wards.

Aside from its irresponsibility, its unequal distribution among women, its legal non-existence, political representation of one sex by another is in its nature impossible. A vote is the expression of a will; two wills make two votes, and if but one vote be cast, injustice is done either to the strength of two wills or the individual judgment of the one not expressed. If the will of the woman is not expressed, an affront is offered to the individuality of one whom the state has now recognized as a person and therefore entitled to expression. If the man change his vote at the persuasion of his wife, she is represented, but he is not, which is as unjust as the ordinary situation to-day, in which this evil is rare. As a matter of fact, comparatively few men tax their minds with delicate adjustments and balancings in order that their vote may represent the composite vote of two. The average man votes as he wishes and represents his wife as he wishes her represented.

The bishop asserts:

3. Equality does not mean identity of duties, rights, privileges, occupations. The sex differences are proof enough of this. The paths in which men and women are set to walk are parallel, but not the same.

This statement is absolutely sound; it is a truism. No amount of legal equality can do away with natural differences, and this holds between men and men as well as between men and women. The black man has legal equality with the white, but his "duties, rights, privileges, occupations," are not identical, and no law can make them so. All that women seek of the law is the equality granted to the negro, and they seek this because they realize that they have duties to the state which are *not identical* with those of men. The bishop fears that this equality would destroy the "equilibrium of society," and quotes the words of St. Paul, "If the whole body were hearing, where were the smelling?" This fear is groundless. Like the human body, the body politic is not "one member, but many"; and in the very chapter containing the passage quoted, St. Paul emphasizes the importance to the body of all its members, and condemns the disparaging by one member of the use or need of another. The trouble in the body politic has been that one member has assumed to be the whole body, and has arrogantly said to the other, "I have no need of thee."

COLLATERAL READING V

(ACTIVITY I)

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.*

A LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN WOMEN OF AMERICA.

Part I.

THE natural position of woman is clearly, to a limited degree, a subordinate one. Such it has always been throughout the world, in all ages, and in many widely different conditions of society. There are three conclusive reasons why we should expect it to continue so for the future.

First. Woman in natural physical strength is so greatly inferior to man that she is entirely in his power, quite incapable of self-defense, trusting to his generosity for protection. In savage life this great superiority of physical strength makes man the absolute master, woman the abject slave. And, although every successive step in civilization lessens the distance between the sexes, and renders the situation of woman safer and easier, still, in no state of society, however highly cultivated, has perfect equality yet existed. This difference in

physical strength must, in itself, always prevent such perfect equality, since woman is compelled every day of her life to appeal to man for protection, and for support.

Secondly. Woman is also, though in a very much less degree, inferior to man in intellect. The difference in this particular may very probably be only a consequence of greater physical strength, giving greater power of endurance and increase of force to the intellectual faculty connected with it. In many cases, as between the best individual minds of both sexes, the difference is no doubt very slight. There have been women of a very high order of genius; there have been very many women of great talent; and, as regards what is commonly called cleverness, a general quickness and clearness of mind within limited bounds, the number of clever women may possibly have been even larger than that of clever men. But, taking the one infallible rule for our guide, judging of the tree by its fruits, we are met by the fact that the greatest achievements of the race in every field of intellectual culture have been the work of

man. It is true that the advantages of intellectual education have been, until recently, very generally on the side of man; had those advantages been always equal, women would no doubt have had much more of success to record. But this same fact of inferiority of education becomes in itself one proof of the existence of a certain degree of mental inequality. What has been the cause of this inferiority of education? Why has not woman educated herself in past ages, as man has done? Is it the opposition of man, and the power which physical strength gives him, which have been the impediments? Had these been the only obstacles, and had that general and entire equality of intellect existed between the sexes, which we find proclaimed to-day by some writers, and by many talkers, the genius of women would have opened a road through these and all other difficulties much more frequently than it has yet done. At this very hour, instead of defending the intellect of women, just half our writing and talking would be required to defend the intellect of men. But, so long as woman, as a sex, has not provided for herself the same advanced intellectual education to the same extent as men, and so long as inferiority of intellect in man has never yet in thousands of years been gravely discussed, while the inferiority of intellect in woman has been during the same period generally admitted, we are compelled to believe there is some foundation for this last opinion. The extent of this difference, the interval that exists between the sexes, the precise degree of inferiority on the part of women, will probably never be satisfactorily proved.

Believing then in the greater physical powers of man, and in his superiority, to a limited extent, in intellect also, as two sufficient reasons for the natural subordination of woman as a sex, we have yet a *third* reason for this subordination. Christianity can be proved to be the safest and highest ally of man's nature, physical, moral, and intellectual, that the world has yet known. It protects his physical nature at every point by plain, stringent rules of general temperance and moderation. To his moral nature it gives the pervading strength of healthful purity. To his intellectual nature, while on one hand it enjoins full development and vigorous action, holding out to the spirit the highest conceivable aspirations, on the other it teaches the invaluable lessons of a wise humility. This grand and holy religion, whose whole action is healthful, whose restraints are all blessings—this gracious religion, whose chief precepts are the love of God and the love of man—this same Christianity confirms the subordinate position of woman, by allotting to man the headship in plain language and by positive precept. No system of philosophy has ever yet worked out in behalf of woman the practical results for good which Christianity has conferred on her. Christianity has raised woman from slavery and made her the thoughtful companion of man; it

finds her the mere toy, or the victim of passions, and it places her by his side, his truest friend, his most faithful counselor, his helpmeet in every worthy and honorable task. It protects her far more effectually than any other system. It cultivates, strengthens, elevates, purifies all her highest endowments, and holds out to her aspirations the most sublime for that future state of existence, where precious rewards are promised to every faithful discharge of duty, even the most humble. But, while conferring on her these priceless blessings, it also enjoins the submission of the wife to the husband, and allots a subordinate position to the whole sex while here on earth. No woman calling herself a Christian, acknowledging her duties as such, can, therefore, consistently deny the obligation of a limited subordination laid upon her by her Lord and His Church.

From these three chief considerations—the great inferiority of physical strength, a very much less and undefined degree of inferiority in intellect, and the salutary teachings of the Christian faith—it follows that, to a limited degree, varying with circumstances, and always to be marked out by sound reason and good feeling, the subordination of woman, as a sex, is inevitable.

This subordination once established, a difference of position, and a consequent difference of duties, follow as a matter of course. There must, of necessity, in such a state of things, be certain duties inalienably connected with the position of man, others inalienably connected with the position of woman. For the one to assume the duties of the other becomes, first, an act of desertion, next, an act of usurpation. For the man to discharge worthily the duties of his own position becomes his highest merit. For the woman to discharge worthily the duties of her own position becomes her highest merit. To be noble the man must be manly. To be noble the woman must be womanly. Independently of the virtues required equally of both sexes, such as truth, uprightness, candor, fidelity, honor, we look in man for somewhat more of wisdom, of vigor, of courage, from natural endowment, combined with enlarged action and experience. In woman we look more especially for greater purity, modesty, patience, grace, sweetness, tenderness, refinement, as the consequences of a finer organization, in a protected and sheltered position. That state of society will always be the most rational, the soundest, the happiest, where each sex conscientiously discharges its own duties, without intruding on those of the other.

* *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLI (August 1870), 438-439, 441-443.

In no country, whether of ancient or modern times, have women had less to complain of in their treatment by man than in America. This is no rhetorical declamation; it is the simple statement of an undeniable fact. It is a matter of social history. Since the days of early colonial life to the present hour—or, in other words, during the last two hundred and fifty years—such has been the general course of things in this country. The hardest tasks have been taken by man, and a generous tenderness has been shown to women in many of the details of social life, pervading all classes of society, to a degree beyond what is customary even in the most civilized countries of Europe. Taking these two facts together—that certain abuses still exist, that certain laws and regulations need changing, and that, as a general rule, American women have thus far been treated by their countrymen with especial consideration, in a legal and in a social sense—the inference becomes perfectly plain. A formidable and very dangerous social revolution is not needed to correct remaining abuses. Any revolution aiming at upsetting the existing relations of the sexes—relations going back to the earliest records and traditions of the race—can not be called less than formidable and dangerous. Let women make full use of the influences already at their command, and all really needed changes may be effected by means both sure and safe—means already thoroughly tried. Let them use all the good sense, all the information, all the eloquence, and, if they please, all the wit, at their command when talking over these abuses in society. Let them state their views, their needs, their demands, in conscientiously written papers. Let them appeal for aid to the best, the wisest, the most respected men of the country, and the result is certain. Choose any one real, existing abuse as a test of the honesty and the liberality of American men toward the women of the country, and we all know beforehand what shall be the result.* If husbands, fathers, brothers, are ready any day to shed their heart's blood for our personal defense in

the hour of peril, we may feel perfectly assured that they will also protect us, when appealed to, by legislation. When they lay down their arms and refuse to fight for us, it will then be time to ask them to give up legislation also. But until that evil hour arrives let men make the laws, and let women be content to fill worthily, to the very best of their abilities, the noble position which the Heavenly Father has already marked out for them. There is work to be done in that position reaching much higher, going much farther, and penetrating far deeper, than any mere temporary legislation can do. Of that work we shall speak more fully a moment later. **

* There is an injustice in the present law of guardianship in the State of New York, which may be named as one of those abuses which need reformation. A woman can not now, in the State of New York, appoint a guardian for her child, even though its father be dead. The authority for appointing a guardian otherwise than by the courts is derived from the Revised Statutes, p. 1, title 3, chapter 8, part 2, and that passage gives the power to the father only. The mother is not named. It has been decided in the courts that a mother can not make this appointment—12 Howard's Practical Reports, 532. This is certainly very unjust and very unwise. But let any dozen women of respectability take the matter in hand, and, by the means already at their command, from their own chimney-corners, they can readily procure the insertion of the needful clause. And so with any other real abuse. Men are now ready to listen, and ready to act, when additional legislation is prudently and sensibly asked for by their wives and mothers. How they may act when women stand before them, armed *cap-i-pie*, and prepared to demand legislation at the point of the bayonet, can not yet be known.

COLLATERAL READING VI

(ACTIVITY II)

Excerpt from Flexner *

The anonymity in which the brewers preferred to carry on their opposition to woman suffrage was punctured in 1918 by a Senate Judiciary Committee investigating charges of propaganda carried on by them during the war in both Bolshevik and German interests. The complaints which had for years flooded suffrage headquarters after every referendum received unexpected authoritative documentation when the subpoenaing of the files of Percy Andrae, who masterminded much of the brewers' publicity, turned up such letters as one marked "confidential" to a Milwaukee brewing concern in 1914:

In regard to the matter of woman suffrage, we are trying to keep from having any connection with it whatever. We are, however, in a position to establish channels of communication with the leaders of the anti-suffrage movement for our friends in any state where suffrage is an issue. I am under the impression that a new anti-suffrage association has been organized in Illinois and is a retail liquor dealers affair. I consider it most dangerous to have the retailers identified or active in any way in this fight, as it will be used against us everywhere.

A brewers' strategy conference on October 13, 1913, whose minutes unaccountably survived (since it was the practice of the brewers' organizations to keep neither minutes nor financial records), revealed their role in more than one woman suffrage referendum defeat. An organizer for the brewers declared that in Nebraska, woman suffrage was defeated in 1911 at tremendous expense. His report for Wisconsin stated: "We have had the usual bills, like every other state — county option (liquor selling), women's suffrage in about six different forms and we have had everything else, which were all defeated; and I say that can be done only by organization and by active work of the brewers being on the job all the time and not leaving it to somebody else."

From South Dakota: "So far . . . we have defeated women's suffrage at three different times, and I want to say that this association, the U. S. Brewers' Association, through the efforts of one gentleman, Mr. Edward Dietrich, has been able to cope with it, and he has always been fortunate in winning." And in June 1915 at another strategy gathering, the general counsel of the Iowa Brewers Association asserted that "We are of the opinion that woman's suffrage can be defeated, although we believe that the liquor interests should not be known as the contending force against this campaign."

The means employed by the liquor groups to achieve their goal went beyond buying editorial support for their "educational campaigns" or open editorial opposition, or allocating quotas to saloon keepers and bartenders of the number of customers for

whose appearance and "no" vote at the polls they would be held accountable. Their influence reached openly into the halls of legislation. The Lieutenant-Governor of Wisconsin, as one instance alone, told Mrs. Ben Hooper, one of Mrs. Catt's most active co-workers, that he had seen the Milwaukee lawyer who "lobbied" for the brewers "sit in the gallery of the Senate and tell his men



"Well, boys, we saved the home."

(Rollin Kirby's famous cartoon in the New York World on November 3, 1915.)

with his hands how to vote." As late as 1918, with Prohibition staring them in the face, lobbyists for the brewers were still lobbying against the woman suffrage amendment in Washington.

By thus adding the word "sex" to the 15th amendment you have just amended it to liberate them all, when it was perfectly competent for the legislatures of the several states to so frame their laws as to preserve our civilization without entangling legislation involving women of the black race.

* Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), pp. 296-298, 303-305.

The Woman Voter Hits the Color Line *

By WILLIAM PICKENS

THE Nineteenth Amendment has become the law of the land and it is constitutionally possible for twenty-five million women to vote. How many of these will actually vote? Three million are colored, and more than three-fourths of them live below Mason and Dixon's Line. There the colored man has been cheated out of nine-tenths of his votes, and only a small proportion of the white men vote because of the indirect reaction of this political dishonesty. Will the colored women of the South be similarly shut out?

The recent registration of voters in South Carolina may be taken as a fair example, as this State has been ever representative of the South. In common with other Southern States, it has, by administration and manipulation of suffrage laws, practically nullified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, which enfranchised colored men. The black race slightly outnumbers the white in South Carolina, and colored women outnumber colored men. The colored woman is accordingly the largest class in the State, and her right to vote gives a new concern to the maintainers of "white supremacy."

What of the colored women? They have shown themselves in every sense and in every emergency good citizens. In the war their auxiliaries were second to none in efficient service. As the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs in Alabama founded a reform school for colored boys long before the State would adopt the work, so now the colored women of South Carolina are supporting an Industrial School for Wayward Colored Girls to which they gave \$9,000 last year. A colored woman owns and operates the best hospital for her race anywhere in the State, and it is patronized by white physicians.

While colored people predominate in numbers in the whole State, in the city of Columbia, with 37,500 inhabitants, they number about one-third. Let us observe the attempt of colored women to register in this capital city. The registrars are white men, sometimes but half-educated. One can register either as tax-payer on a stated minimum value of taxable property or under the "educational qualification."

On the first day of the registration in September the colored women who presented themselves evidently took the registrars by surprise, as the latter seemed to have no concerted plan for dealing with colored women except to register them like the white women; and this they were doing without any test or question whatsoever, save such necessary inquiries as to name, age and residence. The registrars had evidently believed that few colored women would have the nerve to attempt to register, and there was visible disappointment when many colored women, bright and intelligent, in some cases armed with the necessary tax receipt, appeared the first day. While there was apparently no preconceived plan not to register them, one ready-made discrimination of the South was freely used, that of "white people first." The registrars would keep numbers of colored women standing for hours while they registered every white person in sight, man or woman, even the late-comers. A registrar was sometimes observed to break off right in the middle of registering a colored woman, and turn to some white new-comer. To the credit of the instinctive fairness of white women it should be said that they at first manifested a disposition merely to fall in line and await their turn until interfered with by the white officers who would call them arbitrarily from behind a group of colored applicants. Yet many of these colored women bravely stayed and patiently stood from 11:30 in the morning till 8:00 at night in order to register to vote! The attitude and the disappointed calculation of the white men can be best expressed by quoting one of them: "Who stirred up all these colored women to come up here and register?" Such persistent courage, however, was too ominous to the white registrars, the guardians of racial supremacy and party success; for although they seemed to have no plan of repulse for the first day, they evidently held a council of war at night—and things looked different on the morrow.

* *The Nation*, October 6, 1920, 372-373.

COLLATERAL READING VIII

(Activity II)

Selection from Andrew Sinclair's
*The Emancipation of the American Woman**

Massachusetts had once been receptive to radical and feminist ideas, before the coming of the Irish. And yet after the Civil War, the home city of Margaret Fuller and the anti-slavery movement became the stronghold of the anti-suffrage movement. Such a turn in sentiment reflected more than the growing conservatism of an ageing city, which had always preferred evangelical to social reform. It was a desperate clutch at threatened traditions. "With woman voting," said a Boston clergyman, "the country is given up to Romanism. The priest loses the man, but keeps the woman. Give him the control of the vote of the thousands of servants in the great cities, and there is an end to legislation in behalf of the Sabbath, the Bible, the school system, temperance, and morality." In a private letter to a friend, even the judicious Oliver Wendell Holmes could say that, while he had refused to sign a petition against woman suffrage at the request of the president of Harvard, "as our households are constituted, I do not care to see the basement arrayed in greater force against the drawing room (which it nearly governs already) by adding Bridget and Hanna to the list of voters." Considerations of caste and class had made the middle classes of the Eastern cities rigid in their defence of their slipping power.

* New York: Harper & Row, 1965, p. 242.

(ACTIVITY II)

WHO OPPOSED WOMAN SUFFRAGE? *

These men alone would not have been able to delay the suffrage amendment as long as they did without the support of the large majority of southern Democrats. For decades the question of woman suffrage had carried, for politicians and the dominant interests in the South, some of the same explosive impact of desegregation today, as a threat to established social, economic, and political patterns. Fear, thought Mrs. Park, was the basis of such unyielding opposition:

Like some of the business groups in the North, which had managed to arrive at satisfactory terms with existing political machinery, they were terrified at the possibility of any considerable change in the voting body . . . the 14th amendment, which provides for the reduction of the basis of representation of a state denying the right of suffrage to male citizens for any cause except rebellion or crime, might be enforced if women had the vote. For this reason they [the southern senators] dreaded anything that called attention to the right of suffrage.

This keynote sounded through most of the speeches in the Senate against the amendment in the closing battle, as in the words of Senator Smith of South Carolina, who was assailing the few southerners who supported woman suffrage by constitutional amendment:

I warn every man here today that when the test comes, as it will come, when the clamor for Negro rights shall have come, that you Senators from the South voting for it have started it here this day. . . . If it was a crime to enfranchise the male half of this race, why is it not a crime to enfranchise the other half? You have put yourselves in the category of standing for both amendments [the 15th and 19th], and when the time comes, as it will, when you meet the results of this act, you cannot charge that it was a crime to pass the 15th amendment. . . .

Nor were the Southerners alone in voicing this point of view. Senators Wadsworth of New York and Reed of Missouri took the states' rights position to the point where they declared they would vote against a federal amendment *forbidding* woman suffrage! And Borah of Idaho, who always based his opposition on the states' rights issue, declared that he had no wish to add to the already heavy burden borne by the South. Some of his words have a strangely contemporary ring:

* Flexner, *loc. cit.*

I want to ask my friends upon the other side of the Chamber, if this Amendment is passed, do you propose to go home to your people and say, "We now have the Fifteenth Amendment, which inhibits discrimination on account of race or color, and the Eighteenth Amendment, which inhibits discrimination because of sex, and the power under each amendment in Congress to enforce the rule, and we propose to see these guaranties of the Constitution of the United States faithfully carried out?" Does anybody suppose that this amendment is anything but a white amendment? . . . Do you propose to put the South under Federal control as to elections? If you do you have a great task which you seem lightly to contemplate. . . . Nobody intends that the two and a half million Negro women of the South shall vote, unless . . . party expediency compels action for the sheer purpose of party advantage.

Borah was not the most striking example of the strange coalition which, despite everyday partisan alignments, faced the suffrage amendment down to the final vote. With regard to the tacit filibuster which prevented a vote on the amendment a whole year before the end, the *Woman Citizen*, in the person of Alice Stone Blackwell, commented acidly:

It was clear that Senator Lodge (Rep.) of Massachusetts was the leader and general floor manager for the opposition, but the loving camaraderie between the "wilful few" Republicans and the "wilful few" Democrats who in normal relations do not waste time in each other's company, was an amazing sight to the galleries. Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts and Mr. Ellison Smith of South Carolina, Mr. Brandegee of Connecticut, Mr. Martin of Virginia, Mr. Wadsworth of New York, Mr. Underwood of Alabama, as divided as the Kaiser and the King of England in most matters, were as united as twin brothers in defending the nation against the "awful disaster to the nation should women be enfranchised by the Federal Amendment." The Congressional Record prints for the most part what the Senators say, but it cannot record the pictures of Republicans and Democrats with arms around each other's necks, with Democrats slapping Republicans on the back in token of a common jubilation that they had scored a mighty victory in preventing the Senate from taking a vote!

"The unholy alliance," Mrs. Catt christened this combination after she and Mrs. Park, watching from the gallery, had once seen Lodge of Massachusetts and Martin of Virginia standing arm-in-arm at the back of the chamber, comparing notes.²⁸ It did not in the end prevent women from getting the vote, but it caused far more delay and difficulty than one would ever imagine from reading the usual phrase in the history books, announcing that American women were enfranchised after World War I.

COLLATERAL READING X

(ACTIVITY II)

*The Southern Lady from Pedestal to Politics**

Women had been saying for years that the world, and they themselves, would be changed if they were granted the right to vote. When Tennessee ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, the old dream became reality. Would the predicted consequences follow?

For more than two decades increasing numbers of southern women had become deeply engaged in efforts to build a system of public schools, to clean up prisons and abolish the convict lease system, to restrict the use of child labor, to improve the working conditions and reduce the hours of work of women and of factory workers generally, and to diminish racial discrimination in the South. Progress in all these areas had been slow, and the World War diverted the energies of many reformers. Now the war was over, women had the ballot, and the time had come when it was possible to believe, as one young North Carolina woman put it, that "the advent of women into political life would mean the lessening of a great moral force which will modify and soften the relentlessly selfish economic forces of trade and industry. . . . the ideals of democracy and of social and human welfare will undoubtedly receive a great impetus."¹

Whatever the future was destined to reveal about the long-run consequences of adding women to the electorate, at the outset there was a burst of energy, a new drive for accomplishment. Among those who had long supported the idea of suffrage there was no lack of confidence that women would live up to their new opportunity. In Baton Rouge the daughter of a former governor edited a weekly paper entitled *Woman's Enterprise* with the goal of proving to the world that women "are as fully alive to the demands of the times as are the sterner sex." The newspaper encouraged women to register and vote, urged them to run for office, and issued constant reminders to officeholders that women now intended to be heard on all important issues. Women, the *Enterprise* thought, far from voting as their menfolk directed, were on the way to becoming the politically influential members of their families. "Place one energetic woman on a commission and a general house cleaning will result such as Baton Rouge has never enjoyed," the editors confidently asserted; "inefficiency in every department will appear."²

In addition to politics the *Enterprise* carried a steady stream of articles on working women's problems, education for women, and the "new concept of marriage." It also directed a good deal of attention to the accomplishments of young women enrolled at the Louisiana State University.

For those who had taken it seriously the suffrage movement had been an excellent school in political methods. In the first flush of post-suffrage enthusiasm, the old hands undertook to try to teach the ways and means of political action to as many of the newly enfranchised as they could persuade to be interested. Even before the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, state suffrage organizations transformed themselves into leagues of women voters, to educate women and work for "needed legislation." Charles Merriam, a well-known political scientist, was persuaded to offer an intensive training course for women leaders at the University of Chicago. "Citizenship schools" blossomed over the landscape, offering everything from the most serious reading in political theory to the simplest instruction in ballot marking. Meanwhile women established legislative councils in a concerted effort to attain the laws they felt were needed. The Alabama council, for example, was made up of sixteen organizations ranging from the Woman's Trade Union League to the Methodist Home Missionary Council. In Texas the Joint Legislative Council published a carefully compiled record of the work of congressmen, state legislators, and judges.

The central political concern had to do with the problems of children. In nearly every state women were active in the effort to secure better child labor laws. The case of Virginia is instructive. In 1921 women's groups urged the legislature to establish a Children's Code Commission, and when the legislature took their suggestion, they persuaded the governor to appoint five of their number to the commission. When the commission, in turn, brought in twenty-four recommendations for new laws, ranging from a statewide juvenile court system to compulsory education, the women went to work to secure legislative approval of the recommendations. Eighteen of the twenty-four were adopted.³

* Anne Feror Scott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 186-191.

1. Notes for a speech in Mary O. Cowper Papers, MS Dept., Duke.

2. *Woman's Enterprise*, 22 July, 13 January 1922.

3. Adele Clark Papers, Miss Clark, Richmond.

Also in 1921 a combination of women's groups in Georgia secured the passage of a children's code, a child-placement bill, and a training school bill. In 1923 Georgia women tried, but failed, to persuade the state legislature to ratify the federal child labor amendment. In Arkansas, by contrast, a woman member of the legislature, working in conjunction with the members of the women's clubs, was given credit for that state's ratifying the amendment. The wife of the man who led the floor fight against ratification was reported to be unable to conceal her delight that he had failed.⁴ In other states when women failed to secure ratification of the child labor amendment they turned their attention to strengthening state labor laws, an effort in which they were more successful.⁵

In 1921 southern women, along with women from over the nation, brought pressure upon the Congress to pass the Sheppard-Towner Act for maternal and infant health. Nineteen of 26 southern senators voted for the bill. In the House, 91 of the 279 votes in support of the bill came from the South and only 9 of 39 votes against it.⁶ This law, which pioneered federal-state cooperation in welfare, was the first concrete national achievement of newly enfranchised women. Since the law provided for federal-state cooperative financing, it was necessary for the women to follow up their congressional efforts with work to secure the matching appropriations from state legislatures.⁷ This campaign elicited a great deal of enthusiasm among women in every southern state. It was in those states particularly, where the machinery of public health was not well developed, that the favorable effects of the Act were most visible.

Next to children the subjects of most general interest to politically minded women had to do with the working conditions and wages of women workers. In Arkansas, for example, as early as 1919 the suffrage organization began to work for minimum wages and maximum hours in cotton mills. In Georgia women joined the Federation of Labor in an effort to secure a limit on hours of work for women. The hearing on this last measure brought out "every cotton mill man in Georgia," and while a woman's eloquent testimony persuaded the committee to report the bill, the millowners had enough influence to prevent its being brought to a vote. As a result of what they had learned about the conditions in which many factory women worked, clubwomen and the League of Women Voters developed a deepening concern for the problems of industrial labor generally. This concern often brought them into conflict with husbands and friends. The businessman's cherished "cheap labor" might be seen by his wife as an exploited human being, especially when the worker was a woman or a child. For years southern ladies had been praised for their superior sensitivity to human and personal problems, and now that their "sphere" was enlarging, such sensitivity took them in directions not always welcome to their husbands.

This particular drama of wives against husbands was played out, among other places, in North Carolina. Textile manufacturing was a major economic interest in that state, and working conditions in many mills were far from ideal. Wages were low, and it was common to find numbers of young children at work. Soon after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, North Carolina women began to develop an aggressive interest in these matters. It occurred to them to ask the state government to invite the Woman's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor to investigate working conditions in North Carolina mills. This suggestion aroused a strong opposition among millmen and their business colleagues. The governor was polite to the women but adamant: North Carolina had no need for the federal government to tell it how to run its affairs. Textile journals and newspapers accused the offending women of being unwomanly, of mixing in things about which they knew nothing, and of being the dupes of northern manufacturers bent on spoiling the competitive advantage which child labor and cheap female labor gave the South. The YWCA, one of the groups supporting the idea of a survey, was warned that it would soon find itself without funds. The state president of the League of Women Voters was summoned before a self-constituted panel of millmen and lectured severely. She was told that her husband's sales of mill machinery would diminish as long as she and the league continued their unseemly interest in working conditions in the mills.⁸

The progressive movement came fully into being in the South in the 1920s, especially in relation to state government. Southern women contributed significantly to the political effort which led to the adoption of a wide range of social legislation in those years. In public, women continued to defer to men, but in their private correspondence they described their own efforts as more practical than those of men.⁹

4. Mrs. E. B. Chamberlain to Mrs. Solon Jacobs, 25 October 1922, and Report to Director of Southeastern Region, 10 January 1924, in League of Women Voters Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Georgia file; Alice Cordell to Marguerite Owen, 2 October 1924, Arkansas file. Referred to hereafter as LWV Papers, LC.

5. LWV Papers, LC, files of all southern states.

6. *Congressional Record*, 67th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 4216, 8036-37, 22 July, 19 November 1921.

7. This story is documented in detail in the LWV Papers, LC, state files. See especially the state-by-state reports on the operation of the law and the collection of letters from Texas women who had benefited from the maternal and child-care program instituted under the Sheppard-Towner Act. Reports of the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor in the twenties also contain details of the actual workings of the law.

8. The story of the long fight between North Carolina women's organizations and textile manufacturers is covered in detail in correspondence in the Mary O. Cowper Papers, MS Dept., Duke. Mrs. Cowper was executive secretary of the North Carolina League of Women Voters. For a contemporary analysis by a sympathetic newspaperwoman, see Nell Battle Lewis, "The University of North Carolina Gets Its Orders," *Nation* 122 (3 February 1926): 114-15.

9. Successive issues of the *Journal of Social Forces*, which began to be published in Chapel Hill, N.C., in 1923 cover the growth in social

COLLATERAL READING XI

(ACTIVITY II)

*Why Women do not Wish the Suffrage.**

✓ This much then seems clear to me, and I hope it is clear to the reader also:—

First, that the family is the basis of society, from which it grows.

Second, that the basis of the family, and therefore of society, is the difference between the sexes, — a difference which is inherent, temperamental, functional.

Third, that the military function, in all its forms and phases, belongs to man; that he has no right to thrust it upon woman or to ask her to share it with him; that it is his duty, and his exclusively, to do that battling with the elements which wrests livelihood from a reluctant or resisting Nature, and which is therefore the pre-requisite to all productive industry; and that battling with the enemies of society which compels them to respect its rights, and which is therefore the primary condition of government.

For the object of government is the protection of person, property, and reputation from the foes which assail them. Government may do other things: it may carry the mails, run the express, own and operate the railroads; but its fundamental function is to furnish protection from open violence or secret fraud. If it adequately protects person, property, and reputation, it is a just government, though it do nothing else; if it fails to protect these primary rights, if the person is left to defend himself, his property, his reputation by his own strong arm, there is no government. The question, "Shall woman vote?" is really, in the last analysis, the question, "Ought woman to assume the responsibility for protecting person and property which has in the past been assumed by man as his duty alone?" It is because women see, what some so-called reformers have not seen, that the first and fundamental

function of government is the protection of person and property, and because women do not think that they ought to assume this duty any more than they ought to assume that police and militia service which is involved in every act of legislature, that they do not wish to have the ballot thrust upon them.

Let us not here make any mistake. Nothing is law which has not *authority* behind it; and there is no real authority where there is not *power* to compel obedience. It is this power to compel which distinguishes law from advice. Behind every law stands the sheriff, and behind the sheriff the militia, and behind the militia the whole military power of the Federal government. No legislature ever ought to enact a statute unless it is ready to pledge all the power of government — local, state, and Federal — to its enforcement, if the statute is disregarded. A ballot is not a mere expression of opinion; it is an act of the will; and behind this act of the will must be power to compel obedience. Women do not wish authority to compel the obedience of their husbands, sons, and brothers to their will.

This fact that the ballot is explicitly an act of the will, and implicitly an expression of power or force, is indicated not only by the general function of government, but also by special illustrations. Politics is pacific war. A corrupt ring gets the control of New York city, or Minneapolis, or St. Louis, or Philadelphia, or perhaps of a state, as Delaware, Rhode Island, or Montana. The first duty of the citizens is to make war on this corrupt ring. The ballot is not merely an expression of opinion that this ring ought not to control; it is the resolve that it shall not control. A capitalistic trust gets, or tries to get, a monopoly which is perilous to commercial freedom; or a labor trust gets, or tries to get, a monopoly which is perilous to industrial freedom. A vote is not a protest against such control, — it is not a

mere opinion that it ought not to be allowed. It is a decree. The voter says, "We will not suffer this monopoly to continue." His vote means, in the one case, If you do not dissolve this capitalistic combination, in the other case, If you do not cease this interference with the freedom of non-union labor, we will compel you to do so. If the vote does not mean this, it is nothing more than a resolution passed in a parlor meeting. The great elections are called, and not improperly called, campaigns. For they are more than a great debate. A debate is a clash of opinions. But an election is a clash of wills. One party says, "We will have Mr. Blaine President;" the other says, "We will have Mr. Cleveland President." Will sets itself against will in what is essentially a masculine encounter. And if the defeated will refuses to accept the decision, as it did when Mr. Lincoln was elected President, war is the necessary result.

From such an encounter of wills woman instinctively shrinks. She shrinks from it exactly as she shrinks from the encounter of opposing wills on a battle-field, and for the same reason.

* Lyman Abbot, *Atlantic Monthly*, XCII (September 1903): 292-293, 296.

WHY WOMEN SHOULD HAVE THE BALLOT.*

BY THE LATE GENERAL JOHN GIBBON, U. S. A.

I HAVE been seeking for some years a good, sound reason why women should not vote, and I have, after diligent search, found *one*, and only one. It is because they are women. There is no other, so far as I have yet been able to discover, which rises above the frivolous. Various so-called reasons have been urged, indeed: women, it is said, are weak, foolish, frivolous, dependent; they can't fight; they have other and more important duties to attend to; they have all the rights they ought to have now; they are protected by men's votes, and so forth, but the real and only reason is that they are women. There are men, and plenty of them, against whom all the considerations enumerated above, except that of sex, can be urged as reasons why they should not vote; but they are never urged against *them* because they are *men*: that is, they belong to that class which heretofore has had the *power* to say who shall vote.

Women have life, property, opportunities for pursuit of happiness, to protect just as men have. Why should they not have the same means of guarding these that men have? The only reason is that they had the bad luck to come into the world as females, and man got "the drop" on power first.

Protection by proxy will not hold for a moment. In this country no man is willing to admit that his rights can be protected by the vote of another. No such doctrine as that has ever been admitted here, and men would laugh it to scorn even when the man whose right to be protected was a black man just emerging from an ignorant, degraded servitude. So well was the absurdity of such a theory recognized that, for their protection, the right to vote was placed after the war in the hands of persons, many of whom were but little above the brutes, provided always

they were fortunate enough to have come into the world *males*.

Man, in the aggregate, says in his might that certain classes of persons shall not vote, and specifies non-citizens, paupers, convicts, idiots, and women; and these classes are excepted for the good of society—all except the women. An idiot, even, might see why a pauper and a convict should not vote, and if he is an honest idiot he might have a glimmering as to why he himself should not; but it would puzzle him to tell why a woman should be put in the same class with himself, the pauper, and the convict.

Suffrage, it is said, is not a *right*. Perhaps it is not; but, then, neither is life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness—in *some places*. In this country, however, it was solemnly declared over a century ago that these are amongst the inalienable rights of mankind, bestowed upon them *equally* by the Creator, and that, to secure them, governments are instituted among men, deriving their *just* powers from the consent of the governed. No such right has ever been more than dreamed of before that, and we have been ever since striving to make good the assertions of our forefathers. We have succeeded, too, pretty well, considering the difficulties in our path, one of which was a four-years' slaughter of our brothers to force them to acknowledge the truth of the words of our ancestors.

There are some things not yet made exactly straight, and in striving to point out what they are, we are met at the very threshold by two pertinent enquiries: (1) Is woman a "person"? and (2) Is she governed with her "consent"? It is scarcely worth while to offer any argument on the first question, as probably almost all will acknowledge that she *is* "a person." So far as the second is concerned all must accept it as true that she is governed with her consent, just as the other members of the class in which she is placed by man are governed with their consent, namely, the non-citizen, the pauper, the convict, and the idiot.

* *North American Review*, CLXIII (July-December 1896): 91-92.

COLLATERAL READING XIII

(ACTIVITY II)

If the ballot is a necessity for the protection and the best interests of the working-man--and who will attempt to confute that it is?--can any logical reason be offered for the prediction that the working-woman will escape the same necessity? On the contrary, her need will be twofold. Men in labor ranks have evinced jealous apprehension of women competitors. If the male representatives of unionized labor are to have a part in framing the laws pertaining to labor, it is obvious that they will not extend the power of their vote to protect the enemy in their camp, the co-laborer whom they do not want and with whom they are not yet in sympathy and agreement. Self-interest and self-preservation will prevail over gallantry. Hence the twofold need of the woman at work--to be armed with the electoral power as a fortification against capital force and as an independent protection of her special interests. Women working under the same general economic conditions with men should have the same legal, civic, and moral resources. Having been moved into the field by the natural evolution, justice will award to woman a free competition in business, free enterprise in labor, and equal opportunity in industry.*

* Francis H. Blackwell, "An Electorate of Men and Women," *The North American Review* CXCIV (January-June 1912): 813-814.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PENNSYLVANIA. *

Carrie Burnham—The Canon and Civil Law the Source of Woman's Degradation—Women Sold with Cattle in 1768—Women Arrested in Pittsburgh—Mrs. McManus—Opposition to Women in the Colleges and Hospitals; John W. Forney Vindicates their Rights—Ann Preston—Women in Dentistry—James Truman's Letter—Swarthmore College—Suffrage Association Formed in 1866, in Philadelphia—John K. Wildman's Letter—Judge William S. Pierce—The Citizens' Suffrage Association, 333 Walnut Street, Edward M. Davis, President—Petitions to the Legislature—Constitutional Convention, 1873—Bishop Simpson, Mary Grew, Sarah C. Hallowell, Matilda Hindman, Mrs. Stanton, Address the Convention—Messrs. Broomall and Campbell Debate With the Opposition—Amendment Making Women Eligible to School Offices—Two Women Elected to Philadelphia School Board, 1874—The Wages of Married Women Protected—J. Edgar Thomson's Will—Literary Women as Editors—The Rev. Knox Little—Anne E. McDowell—Women as Physicians in Insane Asylums—The Fourteenth Amendment Resolution, 1881—Ex-Governor Hoyt's Lecture on Wyoming.

IN the demand for the right of suffrage, women are constantly asked by the opposition if they cannot trust their own fathers, husbands and brothers to legislate for them. The answer to this question may be found in an able digest of the old common laws and the Revised Statutes of Pennsylvania, prepared by Carrie S. Burnham † of Pennsylvania. A careful perusal of this paper will show the relative position of man and woman to be that of sovereign and subject.

To get at the real sentiments of a people in regard to the true status of woman we must read the canon and civil laws that form the basic principles of their religion and government. We must not trust to the feelings and actions of the best men towards the individual women whom they may chance to love and respect. The chivalry and courtesy that the few command through their beauty, wealth and position, are one thing; but justice, equality, liberty for the multitude, are quite another. And when the few,

† Carrie S. Burnham after long years of preparation and persistent effort for admission to the bar of Philadelphia, was admitted in 1884. She was thoroughly qualified to enter that profession and to practice in the courts of that State, and the only reason ever offered for her rejection from time to time was, "that she was a woman."

through misfortune, are made to feel the iron teeth of the law, they regret that they had not used their power to secure permanent protection under just laws, rather than to have trusted the transient favors of individuals to shield them in life's emergencies.

The law securing to married women the right to property,* inherited by will or bequest, passed the legislature of Pennsylvania, and was approved by the governor April 11, 1848, just five days after a similar law had been passed in New York. Judge Bovier was the mover for the Pennsylvania Married Women's Property Law. His feelings had been so often outraged with the misery caused by men marrying women for their property, that he was bound the law should be repealed. He prevailed on several young Quakers who had rich sisters, to run for the legislature. They were elected and did their duty. Judge Bovier was a descendent of the Waldenses, a society of French Quakers who fled to the mountains from persecution. Their descendants are still living in France.†

The disabilities and degradation that women suffer to-day grow out of the spirit of laws that date from a time when women were viewed in the light of beasts of burden. Scarce a century has passed since women were sold in this country with cattle. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for January 7, 1768, is the following advertisement:

TO BE SEEN.—At the Crooked Billet, near the Court-house, Philadelphia (Price Three Pence), A Two Year Old Hogg, 12 Hands high, and in length 16 Feet; thought to be the largest of its Kind ever seen in America.

In the same paper of the following week occurs this yet more extraordinary announcement:

TO BE SOLD.—A Healthy Young Dutch Woman, fit for town or country business; about 18 years old; can spin well; she speaks good English, and has about five years to serve. Inquire at James Der Kinderen's, Strawberry alley.

In one century of growth a woman's sewing machine was better protected than the woman herself under the old common law:

AN ACT to exempt Sewing Machines belonging to Seamstresses in this Commonwealth from levy and sale on execution or distress for rent:

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania in general assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That hereafter all sewing machines belonging to seamstresses in this commonwealth shall be exempt from levy and sale on execution or distress for rent, in addition to any article or money now exempt by law. Approved, April 17, 1869.

* By an oversight this law was not mentioned in Vol. I. in its proper place.

† George W. Childs married Judge Bovier's grand-daughter.

COLLATERAL READING XV

(ACTIVITY II)

WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE *

By Jane Addams, of Hull-House, Chicago

To Those of My Readers Who Would Admit that although woman has no right to shirk her old obligations, that all of these measures could be secured more easily through her influence upon the men of her family than through the direct use of the ballot, I should like to tell a little story. I have a friend in Chicago who is the mother of four sons and the grandmother of twelve grandsons who are voters. She is a woman of wealth, of secured social position, of sterling character and clear intelligence, and may, therefore, quite fairly be cited as a "woman of influence." Upon one of her recent birthdays, when she was asked how she had kept so young, she promptly replied: "Because I have always advocated at least one unpopular cause." It may have been in pursuance of this policy that for many years she has been an ardent advocate of free silver, although her manufacturing family are all Republicans! I happened to call at her house on the day that Mr. McKinley was elected President against Mr. Bryan for the first time. I found my friend much disturbed. She said somewhat bitterly that she had at last discovered what the much-vaunted influence of woman was worth; that she had implored each one of her sons and grandsons, had entered into endless arguments and moral appeals to induce one of them to represent her convictions by voting for Bryan! That, although sincerely devoted to her, each one had assured her that his convictions forced him to vote the Republican ticket. She said that all she had been able to secure was the promise from one of the grandsons, for whom she had an especial tenderness because he bore her husband's name, that he would not vote at all. He could not vote for Bryan, but out of respect for her feeling he would refrain from voting for McKinley. My friend said that for many years she had suspected that women could influence men only in regard to those things in which men were not deeply concerned, but when it came to persuading a man to a woman's view in affairs of politics or business it was absolutely useless. I contended that a woman had no right to persuade a man to vote against his own convictions; that I respected the men of her family for following their own judgment regardless of the appeal which the honored head of the house had made to their chivalric devotion. To this she replied that she would agree with that point of view when a woman had the same opportunity as a man to register her convictions by vote. I believed then as I do now, that nothing is gained when independence of judgment is assailed by "influence," sentimental or otherwise, and that we test advancing civilization somewhat by our power to respect differences and by our tolerance of another's honest conviction.

This is, perhaps, the attitude of many busy women who would be glad to use the ballot to further public measures in which they are interested and for which they have been working for years. It offends the taste of such a woman to be obliged to use indirect "influence" when she is accustomed to well-bred, open action in other affairs, and she very much resents the time spent in persuading

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a voter to take her point of view, and possibly to give up his own, quite as honest and valuable as hers, although different because resulting from a totally different experience. Public-spirited women who wish to use the ballot, as I know them, do not wish to do the work of men nor to take over men's affairs. They simply want an opportunity to do their own work and to take care of those affairs which naturally and historically belong to women, but which are constantly being overlooked and slighted in our political institutions.

By Sophy Burnham and Janet Knight

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

VS.

Susan B. Anthony*

The annals of political trials bring to mind many familiar names: Socrates, Jesus, Dreyfus, Bobby Seale, the Berri-gans, Ellsberg. All are men. It is not as easy to conjure up many women for this list; not that they haven't existed, but that historians have never felt their efforts added much to the general development of "mankind." Joan of Arc and Anne Boleyn are occasionally cited, usually in a more general context, as martyrs or misguided unfortunates.

Susan B. Anthony's trial is almost never mentioned, in part because she was neither jailed, burned at the stake, beheaded, nor born a man. The fact that this American suffragist was tried in a federal court of law on charges that she was a woman, and therefore a political nonentity, is not often regarded as particularly important. Moreover that her trial was the grossest mockery of justice in a country not yet a hundred years old which prided itself on democracy and equality, seems also not to have mattered.

In this Presidential election year of 1972, when women have finally begun to make real inroads into America's political system, the persecution of Susan B. Anthony takes on added significance. For it was exactly one hundred years ago, on November 5, 1872, that Susan B. Anthony led the first contingent of women to vote in a national election.

Susan B. Anthony wanted the right to vote, not only because it signified political power, but because it seemed to her only fair and right that women be treated as equals. She was raised in a Quaker environment where women were accorded an unusually equal re-

**Her crime: that she
"did knowingly, wrongfully
and unlawfully vote for
a Representative
in the Congress of the
United States." But, like pol-
itical prisoners of today,
her real intention
was to bring the law
itself to trial**

spect with men (and blacks with whites). Not until she left home to earn her own living did she realize how much discrimination women suffered. As a schoolteacher, she earned considerably less than any of her male counterparts, regardless of their ability. When she tried to raise this point at one local teachers' meeting, her action shocked the male contingent, and she was warned that women had no right to speak in public.

By the late 1840s, she had become active in two movements—temperance and antislavery. Of course, both causes, having been initiated by men, sought to exclude women from much active participation. In 1848, Susan Anthony and several other women in Rochester, New York, formed their own Daughters of Temperance and began a series of extensive speaking tours. She had first embraced the issue of temperance because of her Quaker heritage, but she slowly began to see its feminist implications as well. No woman could divorce a drunken husband, a wife-beater, or even a

husband who abandoned her. If a woman did manage to get a divorce, she was marked a "fallen woman," thereby risking the loss of custody of her children to her ex-husband—even if he was an alcoholic. Susan Anthony reasoned that, if women could not yet be freed from their drunken husbands, perhaps the husbands could be deprived of their drink.

The slaves received their freedom after the Civil War, and eventually the newly freed males also received the right to vote, granted them by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. But the women, both black and white, who had fought for years in the abolitionist movement, still could not vote, could not sit on a jury, and in many states could not even own property.

Getting the vote became a fixation for Susan Anthony. She was 52 years old in 1872; she was a plain Quaker woman with a prominent jaw, a defiant gaze, and grim determination. She had started a suffrage newspaper, the *Revolution*, which had as its motto, "Men, their rights, and nothing more; women, their rights, and nothing less." For 30 years she had been jeered at, lampooned, and bullied by the press.

On November 1, 1872, Susan Anthony and 49 other women went to the polls throughout the city of Rochester to register to vote. Citing the Fourteenth Amendment, Susan persuaded the election inspectors in her own Eighth Ward to register her and the 15 women who accompanied her. While they had planned this action for some time, a notice in the morning newspa-

* Ms., I (November 1972): 99-102, 131.

pers addressed to all citizens strongly reinforced their decision. It read: "Now Register. . . . If you were not permitted to vote, you would fight for the right, undergo all privations for it, face death for it." And the 16 women, several of them Quakers, three (including Susan) unmarried, and the rest Rochester housewives, set out to prove it.

Four days later, on November 5, 1872, all 16 women of Rochester's Eighth Ward voted for the first time in a federal election. They were the only women in the city-wide effort to succeed, even though the remaining 34 women had registered and also tried to vote in their own districts. Women in a few other cities in New York State, and in Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, and Connecticut also attempted to vote.

Susan voted the straight Republican ticket, for the reelection of President Ulysses S. Grant, who was running against Liberal candidate Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, which had once backed her suffrage cause.*

Her reasons were twofold: the Republicans had freed the slaves, and had been somewhat sensitive to women's rights. In fact, at their party's convention in Philadelphia, the Republicans had adopted the following resolution in their platform:

The Republican Party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom; their admission to wider fields of usefulness is received with satisfaction; and the honest demands of any class of citizens for equal rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

This carefully worded plank promised and delivered nothing, but Susan Anthony was grateful for even this token recognition.

As outrage at the women's temerity splashed across the nation's newspapers, the Republicans found themselves in an embarrassing predicament. Although

*Susan Anthony also voted against feminist Victoria Woodhull who that year ran for President on the Equal Rights Party. The two women had clashed earlier that year when Woodhull tried unsuccessfully to turn the National Woman Suffrage Association into a political party supporting Woodhull for President.

Fourteenth Amendment—Section 1.
All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. . . .

Fifteenth Amendment—Section 1.
The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

these women had gallantly campaigned, first for abolition and then for the Republican administration's reelection, the government could not idly sit back and watch its highly touted 1870 Act of Congress, designed to protect the voting rights of former slaves, reinterpreted to support women's suffrage. On November 28, Thanksgiving Day, U.S. Marshals arrested the 16 women from the Eighth Ward in Rochester and charged them with violating a federal act. Susan, who had been warned that legal action might be taken against her if she tried to vote, had enlisted Henry R. Selden, a lawyer and former judge of the Court of Appeals, on her behalf. He had advised her, before the election, that the Fourteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote, and although she anticipated a fine or legal action, she was amazed at actually being arrested.

The women pleaded not guilty to the charges, and each was placed under \$500 bail. Susan was the only one who did not furnish bail. Through Selden, her attorney, she applied for a writ of habeas corpus. The writ was denied by an Albany court, and her bail was increased to \$1,000. Selden, in an effort to keep Susan out of jail, paid the bail without her knowledge, thereby thwarting any chance to appeal the denial of the writ of habeas corpus to the Supreme Court. (The cases against the other women were eventually dropped. Susan's was chosen as a test case by her and by the government, determined not to let a victory for women's suffrage slip through.)

A few days later, Susan was indicted by an Albany Federal Grand Jury on the charge that she "did knowingly, wrongfully and unlawfully vote for a Representative in the Congress of the United States." The charge stemmed from Section 19 of the 1870 Act of Congress which punished by a fine of \$500 or imprisonment, or both, any person who should "knowingly . . . vote without having the lawful right to vote." This law, the enforcement act of the Fourteenth Amendment, was a Reconstruction measure designed to protect the votes of Southern blacks from white "repeaters"—men who for a price would cast their ballots over and over again. Now this law was being reinterpreted ambiguously to include women.

During the months preceding the trial, Susan toured Monroe County (in which Rochester is the county seat) with her prepared court argument, "Is It a Crime for a United States Citizen To Vote?" The text was essentially a platform presenting not only her views on women's right to vote, but on all the rights of women. District Attorney Richard Crowley saw in this an attempt to prejudice the jury and succeeded in getting a change of venue. The trial was moved 10 miles away to the small town of Canandaigua in Ontario County.

Meanwhile, much had taken place behind the scenes. President Grant personally chose his close aide and Senator from New York, Roscoe Conkling, to handle the Anthony trial. Besides being generally indifferent to his constituents, Conkling was a bitter opponent of women's suffrage. Judge Nathan Hall who was to preside over the case refused to do so, evidently under pressure from Washington because his opinions did not often reflect those of the government in power. His replacement on the bench was Justice Ward Hunt, a recent appointee to the U.S. Supreme Court, who had yet to officiate over his first case. Throughout the trial Senator Conkling, dapper and perfumed, was seen moving in and out of the judge's chambers, his hand clearly guiding the proceedings. (After the Anthony trial, Hunt, who was, according to one of Susan's admirers, "a small-brained, pale-faced, prim-looking man enveloped in a faultless suit of black broadcloth and snowy white necktie," fell

immediately back into obscurity.)

The trial began in Canandaigua June 17, 1873, before a large group of spectators that included former President Millard Fillmore, several congressmen, and Judge Hall.

Through her attorney, Susan pleaded not guilty. She claimed: 1) that she was entitled to vote by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment, which stated that no citizen could be deprived of his rights by any state—and was she not a citizen? 2) that if she was not entitled to vote but voted believing in the right, then she was guilty of no crime; and 3) that she did vote in good faith and with such belief.

The prosecutor, Richard Crowley,

simply contended that she was a woman and therefore not entitled to vote, yet knowing she was a woman, she had voted anyway. Whatever her intention, good or bad, she was guilty. Moreover, he continued, it was not for the courts to interpret the Constitution. That was the job of Congress. The task of the Court, he said, was simply to decide that the plaintiff was guilty and to punish her.

Thereupon both sides entered into a considerable and occasionally snide discussion about Susan's womanhood.

Mr. Crowley: "... and upon the fifth day of November, 1872, she voted for a Representative in the Congress of the

United States. . . . At that time she was a woman. I suppose there will be question about that."

An hour later, defense attorney Henry Selden stood up to explain. "The only alleged ground of illegality of the defendant's vote is that she is a woman. If the same act had been done by her brother under the same circumstances, the act would have been not only innocent, but honorable and laudable; but having been done by a woman, it is said to be a crime. The crime therefore consists not in the act done, but in the simple fact that the person doing it was a woman and not a man. I believe this is the first instance in which a woman has been arraigned in a criminal court, merely on account of her sex."

What angered Susan was the open bias of the judge. During all this discussion she was not allowed to testify in her own behalf.

"She is not competent," said Justice Hunt, "as a witness in her own behalf." But then he allowed in court the second-hand testimony of an Assistant U.S. District Attorney who had interviewed Susan before the trial. Astounded, Selden leaped to his feet.

"I object. . . . If they refuse to allow her to be sworn here, they should be excluded from producing any evidence that she gave elsewhere—especially when they want to give the version which the U.S. officer took of her evidence."

Justice Hunt ignored the objection. "Go on," he said to the prosecution; and the proceedings continued.

The trial lasted about five hours. The defense spoke passionately of the rights of citizens and women and of Susan's belief that the Fourteenth Amendment gave her the right to vote, so that she never "knowingly . . . voted without having the right to vote."

Justice Hunt then further complicated matters by reading a prepared document detailing the provisions of a New York State voting law. Until then, the case had centered around federal laws. "The right of voting, or the privilege of voting," Hunt declared, "is a right or privilege arising under the Constitution of the State, not of the United States. The Legislature of the State of New York has seen fit to say

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"The Woman Who Dared"

that the franchise of voting shall be limited to the male sex....If the Fifteenth Amendment had contained the word 'sex,' the argument of the defendant would have been potent....The Fourteenth Amendment gives no right to a woman to vote, and the voting of Miss Anthony was in violation of the law....Upon this evidence I suppose there is no question for the jury and that the jury should be directed to find a verdict of guilty."

Selden rose to outline four points for the jury to consider in their deliberations, but he was immediately overruled by Justice Hunt. Hunt again gave the jury his orders. "The question, gentlemen of the jury," Hunt said, "is wholly a question...of law, and I have decided as a question of law, in the first place that under the Fourteenth Amendment, which Miss Anthony claims protects her, she was not protected in a right to vote. And I have decided also that her belief and the advice which she took does not protect her....The result may be a verdict on your part of guilty, and I therefore direct that you find a verdict of guilty."

Selden was aghast. "That is a direction no court has power to make in a criminal case."

"Take the verdict, Mr. Clerk," answered Justice Hunt firmly.

"Gentlemen of the jury," said the Clerk, "hearken to your verdict as the Court has recorded it. You say you find the defendant guilty of the offense whereof she stands indicted, and so say you all."

Selden angrily objected. "I claim that it is a power that is not given to any court in a criminal case. Will the Clerk poll the jury?"

"No!" snapped the Justice, leaving nothing to chance. "Gentlemen of the jury, you are discharged."

Through all this, Susan Anthony was not once permitted to speak.

There was a varied reaction to the trial from the press. Many papers that opposed the suffrage movement expressed rage at Justice Hunt's complete disregard for American law and justice. Others, including the *New York Times*, backed the Justice's behavior. "It is difficult to see," the *Times* editorialized, "how the most sincere friends of the 'Cause' of women's voting can dissent from the logic or seriously regret the decision of Judge Hunt...." If the Constitution could be changed, it continued pedantically, by legal interpretation, the laws would be of no use to anyone. "Of course women would suffer as much as men by such a wrench to our system of government....They ought really, therefore, even if they desire the suffrage, to be thankful that the courts are not likely to give it them on a quibble; that they will only get it, if at all, by the legitimate and recognized methods of changing the law."

The *Albany Law Journal*, a state trade paper, waited one year to comment on the proceedings. Then it advised Susan Anthony that if she didn't like "our laws" she should "emigrate." One hundred years later this is stated more succinctly: "America--love it or leave it."

The day after the trial Justice Hunt was ready to sentence his prisoner.

Mr. Justice Hunt. The prisoner will stand up. Has the prisoner anything to say why sentence shall not be pronounced?

Miss Anthony. Yes, your Honor, I have many things to say; for in your ordered verdict of guilty, you have trampled underfoot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights, are all alike ignored. Robbed of the fundamental privilege of citizenship, I am degraded from the status of a citizen to that of a subject; and not only myself individually, but all of my sex are, by your Honor's verdict, doomed to political subjection under this so-called form of government.

Mr. Justice Hunt. The Court cannot listen to a rehearsal of arguments the prisoner's counsel has already consumed three hours in presenting.

Miss Anthony. May it please your Honor, I am not arguing the question, but simply stating the reasons why sentence cannot in justice be pronounced against me. Your denial of my citizen's right to vote is the denial of my right of consent as one of the governed, the denial of my right of representation as one of the taxed, the denial of my right to a trial by a jury of my peers as an offender against law, therefore the denial of my sacred rights to life, liberty, property and ...

Mr. Justice Hunt. The Court cannot allow the prisoner to go on.

Miss Anthony. But your Honor will not deny me this one and only poor privilege of protest against this high-handed outrage upon my citizen's rights. May it please the Court to remember that since the day of my arrest last November, this is the first time that either myself or any person of my disfranchised class has been allowed a word of defense before judge or jury.

Mr. Justice Hunt. The prisoner must sit down--the Court cannot allow it.

Miss Anthony. All my prosecutors, from the Eighth Ward corner grocery politician, who entered the complaint, to the United States Marshall, Commissioner, District Attorney, District Judge, your Honor on the bench, not one is my peer, but each and all are my political sovereigns; and had your Honor submitted my case to the jury, as was clearly your duty, even then I should have had just cause of protest, for not one of those men was my peer; but, native or foreign born, white or black, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, awake or asleep, sober or drunk, each and every man of them was my political superior; hence, in no sense, my peer. Even, under such circumstances, a commoner of England, tried before a jury of Lords, would have far less cause to complain than should I, a woman, tried before a jury of men. Even my counsel, the Honorable Henry R. Selden

... is my political sovereign. Precisely as no disfranchised person is entitled to sit upon a jury, and no woman is entitled to the franchise, so none but a regularly admitted lawyer is allowed to practice in the courts, and no woman can gain admission to the bar—hence, jury, judge, counsel, must all be of the superior class.

Mr. Justice Hunt. The Court must insist—the prisoner has been tried according to the established forms of law.

Miss Anthony. Yes, your Honor, but by forms of law all made by men, interpreted by men, administered by men, in favor of men, and against women; and hence, your Honor's ordered verdict of guilty, against a United States citizen for the exercise of that citizen's right to vote simply because that citizen was a woman and not a man. . . .

Mr. Justice Hunt. The Court orders the prisoner to sit down. It will not allow another word.

Miss Anthony. When I was brought before your Honor for trial, I hoped for a broad and liberal interpretation of the Constitution and its recent amendments, that should declare all United States citizens under its protecting aegis—that should declare equality of rights the national guaranty to all persons born or naturalized in the United States. But failing to get this justice—failing even, to get a trial by a jury not of my peers—I ask not leniency at your hands—but rather the full rigors of the law.

Mr. Justice Hunt. The Court must insist. . . . [Here Miss Anthony sat down.]

Mr. Justice Hunt. The prisoner will stand up. [Miss Anthony rose again.] The sentence of the Court is that you pay a fine of one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution.

Miss Anthony. May it please your Honor, I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. All the stock in trade I possess is a ten-thousand dollar debt, incurred by publishing my paper—the *Revolution*—four years ago, the sole object of which was to educate all women to do precisely as I have done, rebel against your man-made, unjust, unconstitutional forms of law, that tax, fine, imprison, and hang women, while they deny them the right of representation in the government; and I shall work

on with might and main to pay every dollar of that honest debt, but not a penny shall go to this unjust claim. And I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old revolutionary maxim, that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.

Mr. Justice Hunt. Madam, the Court will not order you committed until the fine is paid.

In this final move, obviously contrived in advance, the Court dealt Susan the most devastating blow of all. The one-hundred-dollar fine was nominal, a mere symbol, amounting to one-fifth of the maximum allowed. But by refusing to imprison Susan until she paid the fine—as was the usual practice—Justice Hunt prevented her from appealing the case to the Supreme Court on a writ of habeas corpus. Had the case been appealed, it certainly would have been won, because Susan was denied a trial by jury. Instead nothing happened. She never paid the fine, and the government never tried to collect. The suffrage movement was stalemated.

Before and during the trial Susan was given very little active support from the other suffragists. It was as if the enormity of the situation and its possible tragic repercussions had frozen everyone into uncertainty. After her conviction Susan received numerous letters of support and donations totaling more than one thousand dollars, all of which she gratefully accepted. Outwardly, at least, she bore no grudge; she had long since realized that in times of crisis one could really only rely on oneself.

Years later Selden's trial assistant, John Van Voorhis, wrote: "There never before was a trial in the country of one-half the importance as this of Miss Anthony's. . . . If Miss Anthony had won on the merits, it would have revolutionized the suffrage of the country and enfranchised every woman in the United States."

Sophy Burnham is a writer and documentary film producer. Her book, "The Art Crowd," will be published by David McKay in January. Janet M. Knight is a free-lance writer and book reviewer from New York City.

Text by Judy Gurovitz / Photographs by Evelyn Hofer

Suffragists Still Going Strong*

We are finally beginning to see beyond the feminine stereotype that has blinded us for so long, and to discover and celebrate the beautiful diversity of women.

THE FAMILY OF WOMAN™

These photographs are the first in a series of visual essays that will explore all the ages, races, experiences, and expressions that are The Family of Woman.

ALICE PAUL

When asked why she became so interested in women's rights, 87-year-old Alice Paul replies, "The question which seems more natural to me is why any woman is *not* interested." As a young girl she attended suffrage meetings with her Quaker family in Moorestown, New Jersey, and gained a conviction that women's equality "was something that hadn't been tended to in the world. I just thought it was something that had to be done. I didn't really know there would be any opposition." Her ideas on equality of the sexes were reinforced at Swarthmore, a Quaker college, from which she graduated in 1905. Continuing her studies abroad, she met the leading women in the British movement. Her suffrage activities caused her to be arrested in England and Scotland. On one occasion, she obtained a release only by going on a hunger strike.

Returning to the United States in 1910 with a reputation as a forceful speaker and jailbird preceding her, Alice Paul was asked to go to Washington, D.C., for the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in order to head the congressional committee, which was lobbying for women's suffrage.

This small group, desperately in need of publicity, soon organized one of history's most dramatic demonstrations. When Woodrow Wilson arrived in Washington for his 1913 inauguration, he was expecting his loyal followers to greet him at Union Station. But, as Alice Paul recalls, "They were all over on Pennsyl-

vania Avenue watching the suffragists march." In fact, the suffragists overshadowed the Wilson Inaugural. When crowds could not be contained by the local police, the Secretary of War called in the troops. The suffragists had finally captured the attention of the nation.

Despite aroused national interest, many women active in the suffragist movement were trying to gain suffrage for women on a state-by-state basis. Alice Paul thought that only through working concertedly for a federal amendment could universal suffrage for women in the United States become reality. From the original congressional committee she organized a new group in 1913: the Congressional Union for Woman's Suffrage. Dedicated to a *federal* amendment, the union later became the National Woman's Party.

At one point in her crusade, Alice Paul was jailed for obstructing traffic. First placed in solitary confinement, then allowed to mingle with other imprisoned suffragists, she once again went on a hunger strike along with other women. After a visit from a psychiatrist who was sent to question Ms. Paul, she was committed to a psychopathic ward. It took the counsel for the National Woman's Party a week to obtain her release, and her sentence was then suspended.

When ratification of the suffrage amendment finally came in 1920, Alice Paul turned her energies to achieving complete equality for women. At the 1923 celebration of the 75th anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention (Seneca Falls), she proposed the Equal Rights Amendment. In 1938 she founded the World Women's Party for Equal Rights, which

* Ms., II (July 1973): 47-53.

later sent delegates to the convention drafting the United Nations Charter. They successfully pressured for an equal rights pledge in the charter.

Alice Paul, now living in Connecticut, still continues her 50-year struggle to win passage of the ERA. Already optimistically looking ahead, Alice Paul urges: "If women work together, we can try to be an effective group to make the principle of equal rights worldwide. If we can do this we will change history."

BURNITA SHELTON MATTHEWS

Burnita Shelton Matthews was among those who picketed the White House to urge President Wilson's support of woman's suffrage, but she was to make her greatest contribution to the woman's cause later, after the right to vote had already been won.

As a lawyer who became the first woman judge appointed to a U.S. District Court, she worked tirelessly for women's equal status before the law. As Chief of the Legal Research Department of the National Woman's Party, she also studied discriminatory state laws and drafted corrective legislation for submission to state legislatures by Woman's Party members. Above all, she drafted—together with Alice Paul—the initial Equal Rights Amendment. At the 75th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Conference in 1923, she saw this amendment officially endorsed by the National Woman's Party.



Burnita Shelton Matthews



Mabel Vernon

During the years between 1921 and 1949, Burnita Matthews campaigned vigorously for the Equal Rights Amendment—making speeches, writing articles, and serving as principal spokesperson for the ERA before congressional committees.

After Harry Truman appointed her to a federal judgeship in 1949, she adhered to legal ethics and stopped campaigning for changes in statutes that might ultimately come before her on the bench. This did not mean, however, that she had abandoned the fight for woman's equality. Judge Matthews made a point of choosing women to serve as her law clerks, an opportunity largely denied them by male judges. And wherever she sat as a judge, the rights of women were never taken lightly.

A native of Mississippi, Burnita Matthews's political philosophy was homegrown. "Many people don't know that Mississippi was the first state," she says proudly, "to pass a law allowing married women to own property in their own right."

At 78, she is hopeful that the Equal Rights Amendment which she helped draft a half century ago, will finally become reality.

MABEL VERNON

Propped against a pillow in her Washington apartment, 89-year-old Mabel Vernon tells enthusiastically

of her days in the Woman's Suffrage Movement. Soon after Alice Paul started to organize American women for the passage of the suffrage amendment, Mabel Vernon was signed on to travel across the country to organize, make speeches, raise funds, and get signatures on petitions to present to Congress.

As one of the demonstrators at the White House to urge President Wilson to support woman's suffrage, she was among the first suffragists arrested in the United States. She spent three days in the District of Columbia jail, but remembers being well treated, "because we were the first group to be arrested." (Others went on hunger strikes in protest, and then were harshly treated, subjected to cruel forced-feedings.) "Although suffrage was quite generally accepted by educated and thoughtful women," she remembers now, "my own family didn't understand it when I was arrested. My mother came to Washington right away to see if there was anything she could do for me in jail."

The arrest added fuel to Mabel Vernon's speeches. Though her audiences were supportive, there was an occasional frightening incident. During a street-corner speech in Reno, Nevada, for instance, a woman tried to incite the crowd. "I think," she recalls, "the woman was demented." The police chief, fearing danger, urged her to stop the speech. Shaken but undaunted, she continued talking until she had calmed the crowd and the people dispersed peacefully.

On another occasion, she and four other women created a furor in Congress. Getting in line early on the day President Wilson was to deliver his State of the Union message, they managed to obtain front-row seats in the gallery. At an appropriate moment in his address, the five women let fall a banner—which Mabel Vernon carried in under her coat. The banner said: MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE? Congress was stunned. A guard quickly rushed up and pulled down the banner. "I still wish the streamers had been shorter. Then the guard couldn't have reached it," Ms. Vernon laments. On a less dramatic, but perhaps more important occasion, she had a personal interview with President Wilson as a spokeswoman for the National Woman's Party.

Even after the hard-fought passage of the 19th Amendment, Mabel Vernon remained with the National Woman's Party working for equal rights in other spheres. In 1930, she joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and became an advocate of world disarmament. From 1935 to 1955, she worked for a group called the People's Mandate To End War.

Still committed to women's rights, she says, "I think it is preposterous to have any delay on the Equal Rights Amendment. When you read some of the things people are saying—they're so afraid of conscription—you feel as if women haven't come along as far as they should have. Imagine any group of people refusing equality!"

FLORENCE LUSCOMB

One of Florence Luscomb's earliest memories is a woman's suffrage meeting at which Susan B. Anthony spoke. That was in 1892, when Florence was five years old. The memory sticks because—along with the influence of the mother who took her to that meeting—it kindled her interest in women's rights.

When she went to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to study architecture (Class of 1909), Florence Luscomb devoted her spare time to the suffrage movement—doing office work, ushering at meetings, and eventually making speeches herself. Her first speech was at an open-air suffrage meeting in Boston, the first of its kind in the United States. She went to great lengths to publicize the cause—once convincing the manager of a small traveling circus to put a "Votes for Women" sign on his elephant as it went through a small Massachusetts town.

Working for the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, she campaigned for local referendums in New York, Ohio, and Virginia and became a veteran of innumerable parades and whistle-stop tours.

When not involved in suffrage activities, she worked as an architect. The decline in construction during World War I, however, led her to look elsewhere. She joined the Boston Equal Suffrage Association as As-

sistant Executive Secretary: that organization eventually became part of the League of Women Voters, and Florence Luscomb was never to return to architecture. Later, she became Executive Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She also ran for Congress twice, for Boston City Council once, and for Governor of Massachusetts. Although she did not win, her campaigns were platforms for the issues of feminism, socialism, and the peace movement.

Since her "retirement" in the 1930s, Ms. Luscomb has traveled extensively. Eleven years ago, she visited the People's Republic of China as a tourist; a rare honor since gaining entry was extremely difficult then. Her experience in China and the photos she took there still provide lively material for her many lectures.

Ms. Luscomb has never married and has no living relatives. She presently shares a spacious, plant-filled apartment in suburban Boston with three young women. For the past 25 years, she has enjoyed being in various communes with young people.

When Florence Luscomb meets with her younger counterparts now, she likes to give them a historical perspective of the Women's Movement—but she's hardly one to live in the past. "Although women won the right to vote," she points out, "we haven't finished the job until we have absolute equality and are full members of the human race."

ALMA LUTZ

Alma Lutz went to her first suffrage meeting in a cemetery. As a student at Vassar, whose president frowned upon woman's suffrage, she and other undergraduates had to hold their meetings clandestinely. After Vassar, she returned to her native North Dakota where she took up the struggle openly. "But," she remembers, "my neighbors thought I was peculiar."

From North Dakota she moved to Boston, where she made a permanent home and became a writer. She is best known as the biographer of Susan B. Anthony, but she also wrote vividly of many women in the antislavery movement, as well as of Emma Willard, a pioneer in the education of women. She was a frequent contributor to the *Christian Science Monitor*, and to the magazine of the National Woman's Party.

Today, she thinks that, although the status of women has much improved since they gained the right to vote, much still needs to be done. "It makes me so tired," she says, "that women haven't shown much interest in being independent. This is because it's a lot easier not to express your opinion—although of course some women are very vocal."

Alma Lutz is definitely one of the courageous ones. At 83, she is still campaigning for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Judy Gurovitz is a former "Life" magazine reporter who is now doing free-lance writing and photography.



THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT



THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Background

The passage of the suffrage amendment in 1920 did not bring forth the calamities prophesied by its opponents. Nor did its passage put an end to the multitude of discriminations women faced solely because they were women, whether they occurred in their political, economic, social, or personal life.

It soon became clear that suffrage alone had not secured equality for women. Women were still dependent for all other rights on the whims of individuals, legislators, judges, or organizations, while the rights, duties, and privileges of men were clearly defined in law.

Over 70 years of effort were lavished upon the passage of the suffrage amendment. Obviously this would be too heavy a price to pay in women-years for each type of discrimination against women remaining in state and federal legislation. A witness from the Women's Party testifying on behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) before a Senate Committee in 1931 cited an example:

. . . It has taken more than 10 years in New York State to try to get the first dent made in jury service. It will take 10 times 6 years and more to get these infinitesimal laws removed from the statute books of the state. It is not only these laws that confront us. There will be crises affecting the lives of women always, as long as we allow our laws and our customs, and in the minds of men and women, this accepted and expected rule that there will be a difference in their treatment¹

Following passage of the 19th Amendment hundreds of federal and state laws remained discriminatory against women. The Women's Party, headed by Alice Paul, was instrumental in persuading a congressman to introduce an Equal Rights Amendment into Congress for the first time in 1923. Almost 50 years later, in March of 1972, 87-year-old honorary chair of the Women's Party Dr. Alice Paul was on the phone urging senators to pass the measure as it went to the Senate floor for the final affirmative vote.

For 49 years the Equal Rights Amendment had been put before Congress. Previous to 1950 the ERA received several favorable votes in the house, but not the Senate. From 1950 through 1972 Representative Emanuel Celler, Chair of the Judiciary Committee, refused to hold hearings until Representative Martha Griffiths circumvented this procedure via a discharge petition. Ironically, an ERA introduced into the Senate had been passed by the Senate in 1950 and 1953. The form in which it was finally passed in 1972 reads as follows:

Section I

Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

¹

Aileen S. Kraditor, *Up from the Pedestal* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1970), p. 296.

Section II

The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section III

This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

This was not the only form in which it was presented over the years. The Hayden rider said, ". . . that no law now in effect or hereafter passed giving women any rights, privileges, or exemptions shall be affected by this amendment."² Stating law in this manner had the effect of cancelling out any semblance of equality. Senator Ervin of North Carolina formed his version of the ERA in this fashion:

Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex. This article shall not impair, however, the validity of any law of the United States or any state which exempts women from compulsory military service or which is reasonably designed to promote the health, safety, privacy, education, or economic welfare of women or to enable them to perform their duties as homemakers or mothers.³

The gentleman from North Carolina, couching an Equality Amendment in those terms, reiterated the still prevalent view of men's and women's roles: men still are paternalistic, superior, and protective, and women are maternalistic, inferior, and in need of protection. Senator Ervin is credited with many statements on the subject of women's role, including "I have always put women on a pedestal, and I intend to keep them there" and "God could not be everywhere so he made mothers."

Once out of the national legislature, many more years of lobbying, fund raising, and concerted effort have been required to obtain states' ratification of the ERA. State legislatures have varied in their treatment of ratification. Hawaii wanted to be the first to ratify, and it was--a mere three hours after the amendment was passed by Congress.

In California the Assembly passed it 56-11 in April of 1972. However, the head of the Senate Rules Committee was able to keep the ERA ratification bill from a vote by the full Senate for many months. Finally, under pressure of a discharge petition by the state senators and a recall petition of the Senate Rules Committee chairperson himself, the bill was voted out of committee and passed by the Senate, 28-9, in November 1972. California became the 22nd state to ratify. By August 1975 34 states had ratified the ERA.

Two states (Tennessee and Nebraska), however, have rescinded ratification--an act Congress has historically refused to recognize. Several states attempted to rescind their ratification to the 14th and 15th amendments in 1868 and 1869. According to Article V of the Constitution, constitutional amendments are of a political nature, and the constitution gives Congress complete authority over the procedures for adoption of constitutional amendments.

² Robert Sherrill, "That Equal-Rights Amendment: What Exactly Does It Mean?" *New York Times Magazine*, September 20, 1970.

³ *Ibid.*

Moreover, from a legal viewpoint J. William Heckman, Chief Counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, cites the precedent of the Coleman vs. Miller case of 1938 heard in the Kansas Supreme Court. The court held that the U.S. Constitution empowers the (state) legislature only with the positive power to approve amendments. Disapproving an amendment is not provided for. For example, although Vermont and Connecticut first rejected and then ratified the ERA, the rejection will be ignored by the Congress, and only the fact that it was ratified will be considered.⁴

Four more states must ratify the ERA within seven years (1979) of its original passage by the U.S. Congress for inclusion in the Constitution. Two years after that must elapse before it officially takes effect. Special legislation establishing the Joint Committee on Legal Equality after ratification has put California ahead of many other states in examining all existing state laws. There has been identification of those changes which will be required to bring them into conformance with the principle of the ERA when it becomes part of the federal Constitution. In 1973, 152 bills on women's issues were introduced--the greatest number before or since. California now has new laws dealing with equal spousal control of community property, elimination of unequal probate procedures on a married woman's estate, equal credit considerations of a woman's income (effective January 1975), new child care provisions, and anti-sex discrimination additions to the education code for textbooks and other school curricula.

The AFL-CIO opposed the ERA since its inception in the 1920s. The union continued its opposition through the decades until convinced to change by its own members. A resolution was introduced and passed at the biennial AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbour, Florida, in October 1973:

Resolved: That this 10th Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO endorses the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution as precisely the kind of clear statement of national commitment to the principle of equality of the sexes under the law that working women and their unions can use to advantage in their efforts to eliminate employment discrimination against women, and, be it further

Resolved: That state labor federations, in states which have not yet ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, urge their legislatures to act favorably upon the measure.

It was truly a reversal of their earlier position and added great weight in favor of passage in states with high union activity. One of the "whereas" clauses of the resolution stated:

Whereas: The Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution has become a rallying issue for its opponents, composed mainly of a coalition of arch-conservative women now being enlisted by the "right-to-work" forces in their efforts to increase the number of states banning union-security agreements, therefore, be it resolved

The "Arch-conservative women" alluded to by the resolution became visible in the 1970s. The "STOP ERA" movement was founded and headed by Phyllis Schlafly, the wife of a wealthy lawyer of Alton, Illinois, and the mother of six children.

⁴
Los Angeles Times, March 21, 1973.

In the 1960s she gained public attention by writing a treatise for Barry Goldwater's Presidential campaign entitled *A Choice Not an Echo*. She has published a monthly newsletter, *The Schlafly Report*, since that time and currently gives five-minute commentaries on national radio. She travels widely on speaking tours, appears on talk shows and before women's groups, maintains Republican contacts, testifies before legislators, and works at enlisting the support of local Roman Catholic lay groups and labor unions. Some news articles have stated that she is supported by "big" monied interests, but Mrs. Schlafly claims that the small five-dollar contributions for the newsletter are the basis of her support. Her top ally in Indiana during the ratification effort there was Charles Rice, president of the United Conservatives of Indiana and a protege of Clarence Manion, a founder of the John Birch Society and director of the right-wing radio show "Manion Forum." In the past her activities in behalf of right-wing causes have been financed by Patrick Frawley, Jr., chair of the executive committee of Schick Electric Company. (*The Spokeswoman*, February 15, 1973, page 1)

On August 3, 1975, a *San Diego Union* report on "STOP ERA" estimated there were affiliated chapters of "STOP ERA" in 35 states. The article reported that they were " . . . joined, at least indirectly, by a number of national organizations, including Daughters of the American Revolution, National Council of Catholic Women, Happiness of Womanhood, Christian Crusade, the John Birch Society, and several state business and professional women's clubs ."

Opposition by specific business groups has not visibly surfaced as the liquor interests did in the fight for suffrage. Some businesses would, however, be compelled to change drastically their policies and actions when the ERA becomes effective, e.g., leading credit institutions and insurance companies.

National Organizations Supporting ERA⁵

AFL-CIO

American Association of Law Libraries
 American Association of University Women
 American Association of Women Ministers
 American Bar Association
 American Civil Liberties Union
 American Federation of Soroptimist Clubs
 American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO)
 Americans for Democratic Action
 American Home Economics Association
 American Jewish Congress
 American Medical Women's Association
 American Newspaper Guild
 American Nurses Association
 American Psychiatric Association
 American Psychological Association
 American Public Health Association
 American Society for Public Administration
 American Society of Women Accountants
 American Veterans Committee
 American Women in Radio and Television

⁵

Women in 1974, Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

Association of American Women Dentists
 Association of the Bar of the City of New York
 B'nai B'rith Women
 Catholic Women for the ERA
 Church Women United
 Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women
 Common Cause
 Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)
 Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ
 Democratic Party
 Ecumenical Task Force on Women and Religion (Catholic Caucus)
 Federally Employed Women (FEW)
 General Federation of Women's Clubs
 Intercollegiate Association of Women Students
 International Association of Human Rights Agencies
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters
 International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (AFL-CIO)
 International Union of United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement
 Workers of America (UAW)
 Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women
 Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
 League of American Working Women
 League of Women Voters
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
 National Association of Colored Women's Clubs
 National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs
 National Association of Railway Business Women
 National Association of Social Workers, Inc.
 National Association of Women Deans and Counselors
 National Association of Women Lawyers
 National Board of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious
 National Coalition of American Nuns
 National Council of Jewish Women
 National Education Association
 National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
 National Federation of Republican Women's Clubs
 National Organization for Women (NOW)
 National Secretaries Association
 National Welfare Rights Organization
 National Woman's Party
 National Women's Political Caucus
 Network (a national task force to facilitate the process of political education
 and action for American religious women and their organizations in a ministry
 for social justice)
 President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities
 Professional Women's Caucus
 Republican Party
 St. Joan's Alliance of Catholic Women
 United Presbyterian Church
 United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO)
 Unitarian Universalist Association
 Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

U.S. Department of Labor and the Women's Bureau
Women's Christian Temperance Union
Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)
Women in Communications, Inc.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's Joint Legislative Committee for Equal Rights
Women United
YWCA in Convention

National Organizations Opposing ERA⁶

American Conservative Union
American Women Are Richly Endowed (AWARE)
Communist Party, U.S.A.
Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR)
Humanitarian Opposes The Degrading Our Girls (HOT DOG)
John Birch Society
Ku Klux Klan
League of Housewives (formerly HOW, Happiness of Womanhood)
Liberty Lobby
National Council of Catholic Women
Rabbinical Alliance of America
Stop ERA
The American Party
Young Americans for Freedom
(List may not be complete.)

Objectives

1. Students will demonstrate their understanding of the constitutional process by writing a hypothesis as to why it has been so difficult to enact and ratify an equal rights amendment.
2. The students will demonstrate their understanding of several issues on the ERA by listing pro and con arguments presented by the authors cited in the unit.
3. The students will demonstrate their understanding of the *current* issues by their active participation in a simulated pro or con ERA rally, in which they will either support or oppose the issues.
4. Students will differentiate between people's feelings and factual information about the ERA by writing items to be used in a public poll.
5. Students will demonstrate their understanding of the differences and similarities between the 19th and 27th Amendments in small-group discussions.

⁶
Ibid.

ACTIVITY I. E.R.A. DIFFICULTIES

- A. Have students read "Fifty Years in Congress--Long Fight for No. 27" and "Amending the Constitution: How & Why" (pages 162-167).
- B. Discuss why it is so difficult to amend the Constitution.
- C. After the discussion students should be able to write a hypothesis about why it has been so difficult to enact an Equal Rights Amendment.
- D. Have several students read theirs to the class and ask for reactions.
- E. All students should hold their hypotheses until the end of the unit, when they will either accept or restate them.

ACTIVITY II. PRO AND CON OPINIONS ABOUT E.R.A. DURING THE 1930S

- A. Divide the class and have one-half read the pro opinions--Gillette, O'Donnell, and Maloney (pages 168-171). The other half of the class should read the con opinions--Frankfurter, Green, Ryan, National Council of Catholic Women (pages 172-175).
- B. Divide the class into workable groups with half of each group part of the pro argument information and the other half con. Each group should draw up a list of the issues presented by the readings. Each group should also determine which arguments it finds to be valid.
- C. List the acceptable opinions on the board.

ACTIVITY III. CURRENT PRO AND CON OPINIONS ABOUT E.R.A.

- A. Divide the class into four groups. First group should read material from National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Second group should read material from Committee to Restore Women's Rights. Third group should read material dealing with laws which discriminate against women. Fourth group should read material dealing with protective legislation and Social Security.
 - 1. "How and Why to Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment" (page 176)
 - 2. "Most people think the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.). . . ." (page 184)
 - 3. "A Memorandum on the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment" (page 188)
 - 4. "To Be Minor and Female" (page 194)
 - 5. "Era and Protective Labor Legislation" (page 202)
 - 6. "Life with Father" (page 206)
- B. Conduct a rally with half of the class pro ERA and half of the class con ERA. Construct placards, banners, etc. All class members should be able to have something to say.
- C. Explore the emotionalism (if any) of the various attitudes and positions. What does it mean?

ACTIVITY IV. PRESENT PERSONAL OPINIONS ABOUT E.R.A.

A. Entire class should read the following articles:

1. "Total Woman Finds Joy in Letting Husband Lead" (page 207)
2. "Women Meant to Serve, Obey" (page 208)
3. "Women to Watch Is Anti-Liberation" (page 210)
4. "Total Fascination" (page 211)
5. "She Takes a Stand Against Liberation" (page 212)

Place students in small groups and have them compare and contrast these views with those expressed by opponents to the 19th Amendment (THE FIGHT TO GET THE VOTE, ACTIVITY I).

B. Class could devise format for interview of parents, neighbors, etc., concerning whether the ERA should be ratified. After completing the interview hold a review session to determine whether interviewees understand the facts about the ERA and whether they understand that it deals with laws and equal opportunities, not personal relationships.

COLLATERAL READING I

(ACTIVITY I)

50 YEARS IN CONGRESS---LONG FIGHT FOR NO. 27 *

The 1920 ratification of the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote culminated a long campaign that formally began in 1848 at the Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, N.Y.

But it also marked the start of a new campaign.

The National Woman's Party (NWP) had played a major role in the right-to-vote success under the leadership of its founder, Alice Paul. She had staged protest marches, spent time in jail and attacked Congress for "promoting treason." Now, at another Seneca Falls convention in the summer of 1923, the NWP adopted a resolution favoring a second amendment.

"It asked for all the things the first amendment did not," recalls Miss Paul, now 88 years old and still honorary chairman of the NWP.

That December, the Equal Rights Amendment was introduced in Congress by a pair of Kansas Republicans--Sen. Charles E. Curtis, who later became Herbert Hoover's Vice President, and Rep. Daniel R. Anthony, a nephew of suffragette leader Susan B. Anthony.

"We imagined that all the women's organizations would support the measure," says Miss Paul. "But almost all of them opposed it." The unity among factions that had helped prod Congress into passing the voting amendment was gone.

As historian William L. O'Neill explains in his book *Everyone Was Brave*, the NWP "seemed to threaten the chief accomplishments of a number of groups," ranging from the National Consumers' League to the General Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

"Naturally," says Miss Paul, "committees in Congress were trying to please these women voters."

But, as O'Neill also writes, "Alice Paul was an absolute fanatic. Once committed to a project, no ridicule, criticism or repeated failure could shake her conviction."

Again and again, the equal-rights measure was annually reintroduced in Congress and again and again it was ignored. Meanwhile, Miss Paul and her NWP associates were working to rally grass-roots support in order to win over the major women's groups.

"It was only a matter of letting the women know the laws," she says. "They knew in a general way that things were not very equal. Past laws had always stipulated the subjection of women. Now they had to struggle in every little town and every state to change this."

As an example, NWP talked the General Federation of Women's Clubs into polling its membership on the equal-rights issue. The results, says Miss Paul, convinced the group's leaders to change from opposition to support.

* *Los Angeles Times*, Opinion section, July 1975.

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Gradually, Washington began to respond. In 1938, the amendment resolution got through the Senate Judiciary Committee for the first time. In 1940, the Republicans first inserted an equal-rights plank into their party platform. In 1944, the Democrats did the same. In 1946, the Senate favored the proposal, 38 to 35, but the vote lacked the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution.

Finally, in 1950 and again in 1953, the Senate passed resolutions by more than a two-thirds vote. Ironically, the NWP opposed these versions because they contained certain exemptions that, according to Miss Paul, could be used to deny women their rights as well as protect them.

"We don't want 'female sex' written into the Constitution," she says.

No matter. The House failed to act in either instance--and the reason was Rep. Emanuel Celler. As chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, the New York Democrat annually blocked consideration of the proposed amendment after taking over the post in 1949. He continued the practice through the 1960s.

By this time, however, a new women's liberation movement was giving a boost to the rights effort in Congress. While a number of representatives had been making pro forma introductions of equal-rights amendments for years, suddenly the total of such actions zoomed past the 250 mark.

Taking note of this fact, Rep. Martha W. Griffiths (D-Mich.) was able to by-pass Celler with the amendment proposal in 1970 by obtaining signatures from a majority of House members on a little-used parliamentary device, the discharge petition, which forwarded the measure directly to the floor.

"I think that 47 years is a long enough time to consider the amendment," Rep. Griffiths said.

The proposal easily passed the House, but died in the Senate in a squabble over riders. Further debate over proposals to qualify the amendment stalled it again in 1971. Miss Paul was still fighting for her cause when passage came in March, 1972. In its final form, the amendment contained none of the phrasing she had opposed.

However, the half-century-long struggle for success has not softened her fervor, nor is she yet accepting congratulations.

"There is still ratification," she says. "We just want this equal-rights principle established. Until we write the principle into governing law, we won't have achieved what we really set out to do."

--Robert Mullin
Times Staff Writer

COLLATERAL READING II

(ACTIVITY I)

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION: HOW AND WHY *

The Precarious Route of an Amendment--- 26 of 5,500 Have Made It

In 1803, a North Carolina congressman predicted that, if the Constitution were ever amended again, "the work of destruction will not be arrested until the happiness and liberties of our country are destroyed." The Founding Fathers were not as fearful, but they did make the Constitution difficult to change--so difficult that only 16 amendments have been attached in the 182 years since the Bill of Rights was approved. Now another amendment is before the states for ratification. The Times here explores the amendment process and the pending Equal Rights Amendment.

Since 1789, more than 5,500 resolutions to amend the Constitution have been advanced in Congress. Most of them died there, including proposals to:

--Change the name of the United States of America to the United States of the Earth (U.S.E., for short).

--Choose the President by lot.

--Abolish the Presidency and replace it with a three-person ruling council.

Should the proposed Equal Rights Amendment achieve ratification, it will become only the 17th addition to the Constitution since the inclusion of the Bill of Rights in 1791.

The Founding Fathers purposely set up complex, time-consuming amending procedures in Article 5, fearing that if the Constitution were easy to alter, the whims of the majority could take away fundamental rights at any time.

The most common path involves passage by two-thirds of both houses of Congress followed by ratification of three-fourths of the states.

However, action may also be initiated by the states. If two-thirds of the states petition Congress, it must call a national convention to consider amendments--something that has never happened.

Between 1967 and 1969, 33 states--one short of the required figure--did vote to call a convention in an effort to repeal the Supreme Court's reapportionment decision. But the movement seems to have died since then.

The Equal Rights Amendment, passed by Congress one year ago, has been ratified by 30 states, eight fewer than needed.

* *Los Angeles Times*, Opinion section, July 1975.
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In the past, five other amendment proposals--including two dating back to 1789--have been approved by Congress but not by the states. Are the amendments out of date? Court rulings have not clarified their status.

The confusion caused Congress to impose a seven-year time limit for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The two amendments still lingering after 184 years would (1) limit the size of the House of Representatives, and (2) regulate the pay of congressmen.

Of the other three, one would prevent citizens from holding titles of nobility (1810), one was a last-ditch attempt to prevent secession by forbidding, in effect, antislavery amendments (1861) and one would regulate child labor (1924).

The amendment dealing with titles of nobility, coming during a period of anti-foreign feeling, apparently stemmed from the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte--the younger brother of Napoleon--to a Maryland woman.

Some historians believe that the Federalists wanted to scare the nation into believing that the Democrats were planning to run Bonaparte for President. No draft-Bonaparte movement was ever uncovered, however.

Traditionally, Congress--and the states--have been reluctant to impose radical changes on the Constitution. Not for lack of radical suggestions, however.

There have been proposed amendments to outlaw everything from divorce and war to the possession of fortunes exceeding \$10 million. A California congressman tried to follow up on the 15th Amendment with his own resolution stating that "the House never intended that the Chinese or Mongolians should become voters."

One amendment, which passed, was the 18th, ushering in Prohibition. But it was repealed by the 21st Amendment.

The Presidency has been one of the most frequent targets of proposals.

Between 1890 and 1930, there were 63 different proposals to limit the Chief Executive to one six-year term.

In 1808, Sen. James Hillhouse of Connecticut introduced an amendment which would have greatly reduced campaign spending. Under his plan, senators would hold office for staggered terms of three years, with one-third retiring annually.

The names of the retiring senators--including, presumably, Sen. Hillhouse's--would be placed in a hat, and the name drawn out would be President for a year. "A serious discussion of his amendments would be ridiculous," sniffed John Quincy Adams.

In 1822, Rep. Thomas Montgomery of Kentucky proposed that the President be elected from various sections of the nation in rotation. The congressman was probably influenced by the fact that all but one President until then had come from Virginia. Rep. Montgomery skillfully avoided putting Kentucky and Virginia in the same section.

The reaction of his counterparts may be inferred from his complaint that the proposal was serious "however laughable it might appear to some gentlemen."

In 1878, Rep. Thomas Southard of Ohio introduced a resolution to abolish the Presidency and replace it with a three-member council.

As for the President's running mate, Rep. Samuel Dana of Connecticut proposed in 1801 that the Vice Presidency be abolished.

For the ultimate in the bizarre, however, possibly no amendment compares with that proposed by freshman Rep. Lucas Miller of Ohio in 1891.

Aside from seeking to change the name of the country to the United States of the Earth, he also proposed, "The Army and Navy, including the Army and Navy schools of organized murder, are hereby abolished. . ."

Miller was defeated for reelection.

--Steve Harvey

COLLATERAL READING III*

PRO E.R.A. ARGUMENT

(ACTIVITY II)

by U. S. SENATOR GUY M. GILLETTE

In a radio address on October 1, 1941, and in a speech in the Senate on January 21, 1943, Senator Gillette, Iowa, Democrat, who introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate, presented the following arguments in its favor:

“I IN just a moment I propose to send to the desk a joint resolution relative to what is popularly known as the ‘Equal Rights Amendment’ to the Constitution. The resolution is under the joint sponsorship of twenty-three members of the Senate.

“The amendment is the same as, or similar to, the proposal which has been before the Congress at various times, and was on the Senate Calendar at the time when the Seventy-seventh Congress went out of existence. It is a proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States by the following amendment to be submitted to the States for ratification of three-fourths of the legislatures:

“‘Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

“‘Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.’

“This seems to me to be a particularly appropriate time for expecting and anticipating prompt favorable action on this matter. We are witnessing the mobilization of women in all enterprises, military and civilian, in the ranks, at the lathes, at the drills, at the assembly lines; and this final step in the upward course of women from the status of chattels to the dignity of human beings is one which should very appropriately be taken.

“The nineteenth amendment to the Constitution gave women political equality only. It gave them a democratic instrument — the vote — by the proper use of which they could gain their rights, but, naturally, it did not give them those rights.

“The Constitution as such does not discriminate against women. It uses the words ‘people,’ ‘citizens,’ ‘persons.’ The word ‘male’ appears only three times, and then not until the fourteenth amendment. But the courts have ruled that the Constitution must be interpreted in the light of that English common law which prevailed unmodified when the Constitution was adopted. In those days, under that common law, women had no legal rights to their property, their wages, or their children. They had no right of contract, nor could they sue or be sued. The Constitution today fails to guarantee them these rights. Indeed, as it stands today, the Constitution preserves and guarantees all the rights that men had gained up to 150 years ago. But as women had then gained none of the rights I have mentioned, naturally the Constitution does not preserve them.

“The married women’s property acts began to appear even before 1848. But those laws are not equivalent to a fundamental guaranty of liberty by the Federal Constitution. Our forefathers were satisfied with nothing short of a constitutional guaranty because, as they must have foreseen, State legislatures can be very whimsical. They can repeal as easily as they can enact and they can be very slow about enacting. But a constitution is not so readily changed. As I have said before, the women of the United States must secure their liberties within our Federal Constitution before women will have equal citizenship with men; and will you tell me one good reason why the Constitution should not offer our women citizens the same protection it offers men?

“The fourteenth amendment says, ‘Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person in their jurisdiction the equal protection of the law,’ and the fifth amendment, part of the Bill of Rights, says, ‘Nor shall any person be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.’ These two amendments appear to provide protection for all American citizens, but the courts have ruled against women seeking redress under these sections.

* “The Proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution”
Congressional Digest, XXII (1943): 107-108.

"Under such conditions women are exposed to any legislative discrimination that the Congress or that State legislatures may seek to impose. A good legislature, a good Congress, might pass good laws for women and the next legislature and the next Congress might repeal them. That is one of my reasons for believing that delay is dangerous. We must pass the equal-rights amendment now.

"I have another reason. We have left intact over 1,000 common-law discriminations against women. We have not a State in this Union where complete legal equality exists for men and women; and in every legislative session of every State, bills appear which threaten the power of women to earn, in other words, their life and their liberty. Why in one State it has actually been proposed that discriminations be placed in the State constitution itself. That is dangerous. I don't like to think either of boys or of girls growing up to face difficulties like that. The Constitution is crying out to be brought up to date. We've outgrown the antiquated English common law, which gave no thought to women as people, and which is still the standard by which the Constitution is interpreted.

"The equal rights amendment would bring the Constitution up to date and correct those inequitable conditions.

"I have been asked what effect the recent Supreme Court decision relative to the Fair Labor Standards Act will have on the adoption of the equal rights amendment. It was a case where the Court said that the maximum-hour laws and the minimum-wage laws may constitutionally be applied to workers irrespective of sex.

"The Fair Labor Standards Act applies to all workers in interstate commerce, irrespective of sex. Men and women doing the same work draw the same pay and work the same number of hours, and the Supreme Court has held this to be constitutional. This supersedes the former position that minimum wage and maximum hour laws could not be applied to men because such laws infringed their freedom of contract guaranteed by the Constitution, but could be applied to women because, as we have said before, the Constitution does not guarantee women freedom of contract. Many splendid people really believe that women would lose by the adoption of the equal rights amendment because, since 8-hour laws could not be applied to men, equality would be achieved by taking them away from women. But now that this recent decision of the Supreme Court gives constitutionality to such laws for men, there is no argument against the amendment either theoretically or practically.

"There are no party lines in regard to the equal rights amendment. The Republicans have declared for it in their national platform. The Democrats have passed legislation which the courts have interpreted as wiping out the only objection to it. Therefore, both parties are united on this measure which is so important to complete our democracy and bring our Constitution up to date. Its very words are an inspiration. They are the quintessence of our American standard. They belong in our Constitution, the bulwark of our liberties. Let me, in closing, quote them again, 'Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.'"

COLLATERAL READING IV

PRO E.R.A. ARGUMENT

(ACTIVITY II)

by MOLLIE MALONEY *

On the American Forum of the Air program, Mutual Broadcasting Co., of March 7, 1943, Miss Maloney, member of Local 4566, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, affiliate of the A. F. L., spoke as follows:

"I AM an industrial worker. I have worked at my trade of bookbinding since I was 11 years old. So I think I know why working women need the Equal Rights Amendment.

"I want to tell you what so-called protective laws do to women like me. I mean the night-work laws for women, the laws limiting the hours of work for women, etc. These laws are said to protect women. I want to say to you — they don't PROTECT women. They hurt women. These laws make women lose their jobs. They take away from women all chance to make good and get to the top of their trades.

"By the time I was 15 I was an operator of a falling machine and my wages went up until after the war I got \$46.50 a week. I liked the night shift better because the hours were shorter and the pay better. And it gave me time to be out in the sunshine, for I got home about midnight and slept until 9 o'clock. I had time to see my friends and get a little enjoyment out of life.

"Then they began to enforce the no-night-work-for-women law in the binderies. I was thrown out of my high-paid job and had to go to the day shift.

"Then the 'protectors' of women got another law passed in New York which kept women from working a single hour overtime. Hurry-up jobs would come from the printers in the afternoon and the binders would have to stay overtime to get them out. But we women could not work overtime, so we lost our jobs to men.

"I had to take up table work at about half of what I was getting. My income was cut down so that I could no longer help my family. That is what the no-night-work law for women and the law against overtime for women did to me and to hundreds of other women in my trade. And it worked the same injury to women in other trades.

"All my years of training and experience, which made it possible for me to earn a good living and help my family, were junked by those laws that applied to women but not to men.

"Now I am growing old. If it were not for the laws I've been talking about I could be laying aside money for my old age, but as long as these unfair laws against women are in force I know I'll never be able to earn more than a bare living at the only trade I know.

"These wicked laws have been made largely through the influence of women who were not earning their living but thought they knew how working women should live. These women did not mean to hurt us but they haven't been up against the things we have to face and they ought to let us decide how to run our own lives.

"It is all right for the legislatures to decide the conditions of work for children because they are not old enough to look out for themselves. But adult women who have sense enough to learn a skilled trade have sense enough to take care of themselves.

"We have our unions. Questions of wages and hours can be settled by them. We working women can protect ourselves if we have equality of opportunity under the law. We do not need the uplifters to take care of us. The laws for the protection of workers should be based on the conditions of the industry and should be applied to all workers, men and women alike. Then we working women will have a fair chance. This is what the Equal Rights Amendment will give us."

* *Ibid.*

by JAMES O'DONNELL *

In a statement before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on March 7, 1938, Mr. O'Donnell, a member of the International Molders' Union, No. 19, Baltimore, Md., speaking as a practical union worker, presented the following arguments in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment:

“**A**S a labor union member for the past 33 years, I wish to add my voice in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment and to urge that it receive the support it merits.

“Our organization for many years tried to exclude women from the industry by way of restrictive and protective legislation. It goes without saying that the generally accepted idea in labor circles has been that special protective legislation for women different from the protective legislation for men, is necessary. There is, however, an increasing number of laborites, men and women, who question the wisdom of these laws, and feel that women should have equal opportunities, equal rights, and assume equal responsibilities, and that women workers and the labor movement in general will then benefit to a greater degree than is possible under any present form of special protection for women, which does not apply to men.

“The idea that woman is not man's equal is a fallacy accepted by many women friends of the workers, who through their various organizations and leagues urge the necessity of special protective laws for women. It seems that woman is regarded as an invalid, who requires special care and must be hedged around with so-called protection, which in reality is nothing but restriction, making it not less but more difficult for her to work and live.

“Whether or not we like the idea, under our present-day system women are forced to compete with men. Every year sees women entering new fields of industry and business. Every time you say Mary can only work under certain conditions and for stated wages, John gets the job and Mary hits the streets.

“That is believed by some so-called leaders of labor to be a good thing. In a conference on this all-important subject held last year when the men advocates of equal rights told of Mary landing in the gutter, the answer of the opposition voiced through the presiding officer was, ‘Hell, that's what we want. Let women stay at home where they belong. There are too many of them out grabbing jobs now.’

“There are, no doubt, many fine men in the labor movement, who, without weighing the question, believe that protective legislation for women is needed. Also there are altruistic leaders who advocate protection when the real thought is to run Mary out of the game. Some organizations are more honest in their stand on the question, and openly exclude women from the union:

“On the face of it, special legislation looks like a real protection for Mary. It lightens her task, things are made easier for her. She does not have to labor so hard. She can do so only under the most favorable conditions. Surely now Mary is happy. She need worry no more. She should be thankful to those who served her. Now this is just the condition which the advocates of special protective legislation for women want. They want Mary to be happy and in a gracious mood.

“But wait a minute. When industry tells Mary that she is no longer needed, or that if she is to hold the job, she must accept reduced wages, she becomes a potential scab who endangers the wages of all the male employees.

“Organized labor states (in the case cited) that if the field is left open for women to compete with men then wage standards will suffer. The sensible thing to do is to organize the women and demand for them equal pay for equal work.

“Many claims are made about the work being too heavy or dangerous or otherwise injurious to Mary's finer nature. These things make no difference to the woman who, under our present system of doing things, is forced to compete. She must work to live, so she takes whatever job is open just as man does, and this finer nature talk is wasted effort.

“If you have a sincere desire to help women then consider the facts, which are that the results obtained by dictating wages, hours, and conditions for women under special laws are of exceedingly doubtful value. Stop legislating Utopias for Mary because it can't be done until she enters the political and economic fields on a basis of real equality.

“She will never be really secure without an equal voice in determining her position in life. If she is going to accept gifts from man she must be prepared for uncertainty, insecurity, and many bitter disappointments. In the struggle for existence, man's better nature often disappears and then it is the job he wants.”

COLLATERAL READING VI

ANTI E.R.A. ARGUMENT

(ACTIVITY II)

by JUSTICE FELIX FRANKFURTER *

At a hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, February 8, 1938, Justice Frankfurter, at that time Professor at Harvard Law School, filed the following statement:

“THE legal position of woman cannot be stated in a single, simple formula, because her life cannot be expressed in a single, simple relation. Women’s legal status necessarily involves complicated formulation, because a woman occupies many relations. The law must have regard for woman in her manifold relations as an individual, as a wage-earner, as a wife, as a mother, as a citizen. Only those who are ignorant of the nature of law, and of its enforcement, or indifferent to the exacting aspects of woman’s life, can have the naivete, or the recklessness, to sum up woman’s whole legal position in a meaningless and mischievous phrase about ‘equal rights.’ Nature made man and woman different; the law must accommodate itself to the immutable differences of Nature. For some purposes men and women are persons, and the law should, for these purposes, treat them as persons, subjecting them to the same duties and conferring upon them the same ‘rights.’ But for other and vital purposes men and women are men and women — and the law must treat them as men and women, and, therefore, subject them to different and not the same, rules of legal conduct.

“In a blind effort to remove remaining differences in the law, in the treatment of women as compared with men, which do not rest on necessary policy based on inherent differences of sex, the Woman’s Party would do away with all differences which arise from the stern fact that male and female created them. The Woman’s Party cannot amend Nature. But they can add considerably to the burdens already weighing too heavily upon the backs of millions of women least able to bear them.”

* *Ibid.*

COLLATERAL READING VII

ANTI E.R.A. ARGUMENT

(ACTIVITY II)

by WILLIAM GREEN *

In a press release, dated February 8, 1943, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, made the following statement:

“THE American Federation of Labor will oppose the enactment by Congress of a constitutional amendment providing for ‘equal rights’ for women.

“Such a constitutional amendment would place in jeopardy all laws protecting women in industry. At this time, when women are being recruited for jobs in war production plants in ever increasing numbers, the ‘Equal Rights’ Amendment would be particularly dangerous and harmful.

“The American Federation of Labor sympathizes with and supports the efforts of women’s organizations to remove from the statute books various laws discriminating against women as to property, guardianship, naturalization and other rights guaranteed to men. We advocate specific measures to wipe out such discriminations.

“But a constitutional amendment must, of necessity, be drawn in general terms allowing no reservations. Therefore, if it is adopted, the validity of existing laws limiting the hours of work for women and otherwise protecting women in industry, would be subject to judicial assault.

“We cannot afford to have these industrial safeguards tossed overboard now. They are necessary to conserve womanpower and to assure maximum war production at peak efficiency. The ‘Equal Rights’ Amendment, despite its praiseworthy objectives, might result in sapping the strength and destroying the usefulness of our women war workers. For this reason, the American Federation of Labor, which numbers many hundreds of thousands of women in its ranks, will oppose this legislation to the limit.”

* *Ibid.*

ANTI E.R.A. ARGUMENT

by THE RT. REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D. *

(ACTIVITY II)

The following excerpts are from the statement of Dr. Ryan, Director of the Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in February, 1938:

“THE Catholic position on labor legislation for women is in practical accord with that taken by the actual and genuine leaders of the women wage earners in the United States. Both the Catholic Church and the women trade-union leaders approach this question from the side of experience and the facts of human nature. The doctrine of the Church has been clearly and fully stated by Pope Leo XIII in his Encyclical on the Condition of Labor. It is, in substance, that legislation should be so constructed and adapted as to meet the special needs of every class in the community. Now, the wage-earning women are a special class, having needs which are peculiar to that class. These should be taken care of by appropriate and special legislation. This is realism and common sense.

“At present women possess certain privileges under the law which are not extended to men. Among the most important of these are regulations for the protection of wage-earning women before and after childbirth, exemption from legal penalties for seduction and rape, the right to support by the husband, and exemption from military service. If women are to enjoy equal rights with men under the proposed constitutional amendment, will they not also be charged with equal responsibilities as well as rights? This attitude follows naturally from their fundamental theory of sex equality defended by the National Woman's Party. As they demand equal rights with men, so they insist that women are capable of bearing equal burdens. Hence, they are quite willing that the law should punish women as well as men for seduction and rape, and should compel the wife to be equally responsible with the husband for the support of the other marital partner and of their children. Possibly some of them go so far as to accept the conclusion that women should be equally subject with men to service in the Navy and the Army and on the battlefield.

“Women are men's equal as persons. That is to say, they possess the same essentials of human nature, the same sacredness of personality and the same moral rights to the opportunities of reasonable living. Outside this sphere of essential and moral equality, women are no more equal with men than they are equal among themselves. In other words, the sexes are equal in some respects and unequal in other respects. A law which disregarded these inequalities would be manifestly irrational. It would be unjust either to women or to men or to both.”

* *Ibid.*

COLLATERAL READING IX

ANTI E.R.A. ARGUMENT

(ACTIVITY II)

by NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN *

In a statement of March 4, 1943, the N. C. C. W. summarized its reasons for opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment as follows:

“**T**HE sponsors of the amendment ask that men and women be treated equally, or identically, in the eyes of the law; but men and women were not created identical.

“The amendment is but one phase of a whole movement tending toward the breakdown of the family. Theoretically, the amendment would establish equality in family headship, a condition which would tend to disintegrate the family.

“The amendment itself is confusing in its application. Section 1 of the amendment could mean the repeal of all State legislation relating to men or women. Must the standards of California apply in Florida, or vice versa? Which standards shall be accepted — those that are high or those that are low? Certainly the legislation of all States would be thrown into confusion, because no State would know whether its laws or those of another State would be the accepted ones, depending upon test cases in the Federal courts.

“The amendment would invade State’s rights. Ordinarily, laws governing marriage, family, education, etc., are left to the individual States. These laws, as well as all laws affecting men and women would then become the concern of the Federal Government, thus increasing an ever-growing federalization.

“The amendment is unnecessary. Even the National Woman’s Party, sponsors of the measure, have admitted in their study of discriminatory legislation, that women now are not debarred from entering any professions. Then, too, the Women’s Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor reports an ever-increasing number of women going into industry. Within the past months, of the number of new people entering industry, 80 per cent. were women. As to wages, the Fair Labor Standards Act, which governs interstate commerce — the bulk of commerce today, guarantees to women equal pay with men for equal jobs.

“Where there are inequalities within a State, these may and should be remedied through State legislation, not through an unnecessary change in the Constitution.”

* *Ibid.*

COLLATERAL READING X

(ACTIVITY III)

HOW AND WHY TO RATIFY THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

*EQUALITY OF RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW SHALL NOT BE DENIED OR ABRIDGED
BY THE UNITED STATES OR BY ANY STATE ON ACCOUNT OF SEX*

Why the Equal Rights Amendment?

The Equal Rights Amendment, or ERA, would amend the United States Constitution to insure that men and women have the same rights and responsibilities under the law.

The Amendment would be a major step toward assuring first class citizenship for women, toward their assumption of fuller responsibilities, and toward bringing women into the mainstream of American life. A century ago Susan B. Anthony remarked: "Men their rights and nothing more. Women their rights and nothing less" . . . Passage of this Amendment would eliminate impediments to women's rights and enable women to share with men the responsibilities of family, community, and Nation.

-Virginia R. Allan, former Chairman of the
President's Task Force on Women's Rights
and Responsibilities

How Will ERA Become Law?

Three-fourths of the state legislatures (38 states) must ratify ERA within seven years of March 1972 before it becomes the 27th Amendment to the Constitution. Following that, states have two years in which to review and revise their laws, regulations, and practices to bring them into compliance with the Amendment.

What Is ERA?

Simply stated, the Amendment provides that sex should not be a factor in determining the legal rights of men and women. It thus recognizes the fundamental dignity and individuality of each human being. ERA will affect only governmental action; the private relationships of men and women are unaffected. The Amendment does not require any state or the federal government to establish quotas. It does require equal treatment of individuals.

Who Supports ERA?

ERA has received the endorsement of Presidents of the United States, including Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, and has been repeatedly supported on the national party platforms of the major political parties. The House of Representatives approved the Amendment by a vote of 354 to 23 on October 12, 1971. The Senate passed the Amendment on March 22, 1972, by a vote

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club, Inc., 2012
Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20036

of 84 to eight. In both houses, efforts to amend ERA were defeated by substantial margins.

In addition, an impressive list of women's groups, labor unions, and religious and professional organizations have recorded their support of ERA. Both the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, created by President Kennedy, and the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, created by President Nixon, have recommended in strongest terms approval of the Amendment.

Is the Equal Rights Amendment Really Needed?

There has been some progress toward equal legal rights for men and women in recent years. However, the fact that persistent patterns of sex discrimination continue to permeate our social, cultural, and economic life has been thoroughly documented in the many Congressional committee hearings held during the past years, and extensively over the last three years.

On the whole, sex discrimination is still much more the rule than the exception. Much of this discrimination is directly attributable to governmental action both in maintaining archaic discriminatory laws and in perpetuating discriminatory practices in employment, education, and other areas. The social and economic cost to our society, as well as the individual psychological impact of sex discrimination, are immeasurable. That a majority of our population should be subjected to the indignities and limitations of second class citizenship is a fundamental affront to personal human liberty.

-Report No. 92-689, Senate Judiciary Committee

Don't Women Have Equal Rights Under the Constitution Now?

The only right women gained under the Suffrage Amendment was the right to vote--their civil rights were unaffected. Although the Fourteenth Amendment, which was made part of the Constitution in 1868, guarantees "equal protection of the laws," not until 1971 did the Supreme Court strike down a law which discriminated against women. The Court invalidated an Idaho law which arbitrarily favored men over women as administrators of estates (*Reed v. Reed*), but it did not overrule earlier decisions upholding sex discrimination cases in other laws, and it did not hold that sex discrimination is "suspect" under the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court left the burden on every woman plaintiff to prove that governmental action perpetuating sex discrimination is "unreasonable." As the Association of the Bar of the City of New York pointed out in its report, "the 1971 *Reed* case indicated no substantial change in judicial attitude."

Under ERA, the burden will not be on each woman plaintiff to show that sex discrimination is "unreasonable." Instead, all men and women will be assured the right to be free from discrimination based on sex.

Why Not Change Specific Laws Instead?

There are many uncertainties and practical difficulties connected with attempting to change every law which discriminates on the basis of sex. It is time-consuming and expensive; and specific legislation can deal only with specific

problems. A constitutional amendment is the only realistic way to insure equal treatment of the sexes before the law.

It would be possible for Congress and each State to revise their laws and eliminate those which discriminate on the basis of sex. But without the impetus of the Equal Rights Amendment, that process would be far too haphazard and much too slow to be acceptable, especially in light of the fact that the Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced 49 years ago.

. . . we cannot overlook the immense, symbolic importance of the Equal Rights Amendment. The women of our country must have tangible evidence of our commitment to guarantee equal treatment under the law. An amendment to the Constitution has great moral and persuasive value. Every citizen recognizes the importance of a constitutional amendment, for the Constitution declares the most basic policies of our Nation as well as the supreme law of the land.

-Senator Birch Bayh (D-Indiana)

How Will the Amendment Affect Existing Laws?

Essentially, the Amendment requires the federal government and all state and local governments to treat each person, man and woman, as an individual. State legislatures have the primary responsibility for revising those laws which are in conflict with the Amendment. The effective date of ERA has been delayed for two years after ratification to give states time to do this.

In cases where the states have failed to act, these issues can easily be resolved, with the guidance of well-established precedents, by the courts. The legislature history of the Amendment indicates that Congress expects any law which is truly beneficial to be extended to protect both sexes, while laws which are truly restrictive and discriminatory would become null and void. In a great many instances, the problem can be solved simply by changing the laws to read "persons" instead of "male" or "female."

Where a statute is defective because of underinclusion there exist two remedial alternatives: a court may either declare it a nullity and order that its benefits not extend to the class that the legislature intended to benefit, or it may extend the coverage of the statute to include those who are aggrieved by exclusion.

-Mr. Justice Harlan, concurring in *Welsh v. United States*

Would Women Be Drafted Under the Equal Rights Amendment?

Congress now possesses the power to include women in any military conscription. ERA would not limit that power of Congress. However, under the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, only male citizens must register for the draft. The Amendment would require that this law, or any subsequent law concerning military and/or alternative national service, be extended to women equally.

Women would be allowed to volunteer for military service on the same basis as men; those who are physically and otherwise qualified under neutral standards could not be prohibited from joining solely because of their sex. With respect to the draft--if there is one at all--both men and women who meet the physical and other requirements and who are not exempt or deferred would be subject to conscription.

Of course, the ERA will not require that all women serve in the military any more than all men are now required to serve. Those women who are physically or mentally unqualified, or who are conscientious objectors, or who are exempt because of their responsibilities (e.g., certain public officials, or those with dependents) will not have to serve, just as men who are unqualified or exempt do not serve today. Thus the fear that mothers will be conscripted from their children into military services if the Equal Rights Amendment is ratified is totally and completely unfounded. Congress will retain ample power to create legitimate sex-neutral exemptions from compulsory service. For example, Congress might well decide to exempt all parents of children under 18 from the draft.

-Report No. 92-689, Senate Judiciary Committee

Under ERA, women would also be entitled, as men now are, to reap the benefits which flow from military service. These include, for example, educational benefits of the GI bill; medical care in the service and through veterans' hospitals; job preferences in government and out; and the training, maturity, and leadership provided by service in the military itself.

Does This Mean Women Would Be Assigned to Combat Duty?

Once in the service, women, like men, would be assigned various duties by their commanders, depending on their qualifications and the service's needs. Only those persons--men or women--who can meet the very high physical demands which combat duty imposes would be eligible for such assignments. Today, less than 1 percent of those men eligible for the draft are assigned to combat units. Studies have shown that almost nine out of 10 jobs done in the service are non combat jobs.

There are now, of course, a considerable number of women serving with distinction in the military services, and many of them are serving in combat zones and receiving combat pay. Then, too, as Senator Marlow Cook (R-Kentucky) has pointed out, "Combat today may be a lady sitting at a computer at a missile site in North Dakota."

What About State "Protective" Labor Laws?

Almost every state has some kind of so-called "protective" legislation which applies only to women. It may restrict the number of hours they work, set limits on the pounds they can lift, restrict night work, provide for special seating arrangements, or prohibit their employment in certain occupations. While these laws were originally enacted to prevent women from being exploited, they now serve to restrict employment opportunities by keeping women out of some jobs which offer higher pay or advancement. To the extent these laws provide meaningful protections, men are today arbitrarily denied benefits they need and deserve. Many of these state "protective" laws are being struck down because of their incompatibility with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits sex discrimination in employment where sex is not a "bona fide occupational qualification."

The Commission believes that such state laws and regulations, although originally promulgated for the purpose of protecting females, have ceased to be relevant to our technology or to the expanding role of the female worker in our economy. The Commission has found that such laws and regulations do not take into account the capacities, preferences and abilities of individual females and tend to discriminate rather than protect.

-Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Guidelines,
August 19, 1969

Women today work for the same reasons as men--namely, to support themselves, their families, and other dependents. And increasingly, working women are testing the validity of state "protective" laws.

The truth, more abundantly clear with each passing week, is that "real" working women in the factories of the land, with or without the support of their unions, have been making a charge at the discriminatory practices authorized or not prevented by the state protective laws, and have been challenging the validity of these laws with considerable success. Not professional nor business women but women who work for wages have brought most of the suits, or had the most suits filed in their behalf, charging the state protective laws with discrimination based on sex.

-Olga Madar, Vice President, United Auto Workers

How Would ERA Apply to Schools?

Discrimination against women, in contrast to that against minorities, is still overt and socially acceptable within the academic community.

-A Ford Foundation Report on Higher Education

Under the Equal Rights Amendment, state supported schools at all levels would have to make certain that admissions and the distribution of scholarship funds were on the basis of ability or other relevant characteristics, not on the basis of sex. In like manner, employment and promotion in public schools and colleges would have to be free of sex discrimination. The Amendment would not require the setting of quotas for men and women, nor would it require that schools accurately reflect the sex distribution of the population. State schools and colleges currently limited to one sex would have to allow both sexes to attend.

What Would ERA Do to Relationships Between Men and Women?

ERA applies only to government action and legal rights, not to social customs. The question of who pays the dinner check, opens the door, or pulls out a chair has nothing to do with equal legal rights. Social customs and personal relationships between men and women would be decided by the individuals involved.

It is important to note that the only kind of sex discrimination which (ERA) would forbid is that which exists in law. Interpersonal relationships and customs of

chivalry will, of course, remain as they always have been, a matter of individual choice. The passage of this Amendment will neither make a man a gentleman nor will it require him to stop being one.

-Senator Marlow Cook (R-Kentucky)

Does the Right to Privacy Conflict with ERA?

"Equality under the law" does not mean that the sexes must be regarded as identical, and it does not prohibit states from requiring that there be a reasonable separation of the sexes under some circumstances. States would continue to have the power to require segregation of the sexes for regulatory purposes with respect to such facilities as sleeping quarters at coeducational colleges, prison dormitories, and military barracks.

In addition, the right to privacy under the Constitution would also permit a separation of the sexes with respect to such places as public toilets and sleeping quarters of public institutions.

. . . the right to be free of sex discrimination would have to harmonize with other constitutional rights, such as the right to privacy recognized by the Supreme Court in Griswold v. Connecticut. Therefore, the Equal Rights Amendment most certainly would not abolish the practice of providing separate restrooms for boys and girls in public schools. The right to privacy would justify some segregation by sex in the military, as well as in prisons and other public institutions.

-Representative Martha Griffiths (D-Michigan)

What About Family Relationships?

ERA would apply only to governmental action. It would not affect private action or the purely social relationships between men and women. Domestic relations and community property laws, however, would have to be based on individual circumstances and needs, and not on sexual stereotypes.

Alimony laws would continue in effect under ERA. Continued support of one spouse by the other after divorce or separation, if based on actual economic dependency or relative ability to provide family support, would be permitted.

. . . the Equal Rights Amendment would not deprive women of any enforceable rights of support and it would not weaken the father's obligation to support the family.

-Citizens' Advisory Council
on the Status of Women

The Amendment would bar a state from imposing a greater liability on one spouse than on the other merely because of sex. It is clear that the Amendment would not require both a husband and wife to contribute identical amounts of money to a marriage. The support obligation of each spouse would be defined in functional terms based, for example, on each spouse's earning power, current resources and non-monetary contributions to the family welfare. . . where one spouse is the primary

wage earner and the other runs the home, the wage earner would have a duty to support the spouse who stays at home in compensation for the performance of her or his duties.

-Association of the Bar
of the City of New York

Would Maternity Legislation Be Affected?

Legislation allowing maternity benefits would not be prohibited by the Amendment because it is based on a function unique to one sex. "Equality" does not mean "sameness."

So long as the characteristic is found in all women and no men, or in all men and no women, the law does not violate the basic principle of the Equal Rights Amendment; for it raises no problem of ignoring individual characteristics in favor of a prevailing group characteristic or average.

Professor Thomas I. Emerson,
Yale Law School

What About Women Who Choose Homemaking as a Career?

ERA would not take women out of the home. It definitely would not require both the husband and wife to become wage earners. Rather than downgrading the roles of mother and housewife, the Amendment would give new dignity to these important roles.

By confirming woman's equality under the law, by upholding woman's right to choose her place in society, the Equal Rights Amendment can only enhance the status of traditional women's occupations. For these would become positions accepted by women as equals, not roles imposed on them as inferiors.

-Representative Florence P. Dwyer (R-New Jersey)

How Would ERA Affect Criminal Laws?

State laws which provide greater penalties for female law violators than for male violators committing the same crime would be nullified by ERA. But the Amendment will not invalidate laws which punish rape.

Rape laws . . . are perfectly constitutional, for both the group which is protected; namely, women, and the group which can be punished; namely, men, have unique physical characteristics which are directly related to the crime, to the act for which an individual is punished.

-Senator Birch Bayh (D-Indiana)

How Would Property Rights Be Affected?

State laws which place special restrictions on the property rights of married women would be nullified. A married woman would be permitted to manage or own

separate property in the same manner as her husband. She would also be able to enter into contracts or run her own business as freely as a member of the male sex.

Would Jury Laws Be Affected?

The Equal Rights Amendment would make women eligible for jury service on the same basis as men. Any state laws "relieving" only women from jury duty simply because they are women, or requiring them to register for jury duty only if they are interested in serving, would be invalid.

COLLATERAL READING XI

(ACTIVITY III)

Most people think the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.) means equal pay, jobs and education for women, but these areas are already covered by existing laws and the E.R.A. will have NO EFFECT on them! Instead, under the guise of "equality," the E.R.A., at either a state or federal level, seeks to strip from women the many privileges traditionally granted to women by law. To find out why E.R.A. should really be termed a *Loss of Rights Amendment*, check the facts! And the facts are.....

E.R.A. WILL HURT WIVES!

Before E.R.A. reared its ugly head, every one of the 50 states legally required a husband to support his wife. Constitutional scholar Prof. Paul Freund of Harvard Law School points out that the E.R.A. will be contrary to all these state laws by making a husband liable for support of his wife ONLY IF SHE IS UNABLE TO SUPPORT HERSELF! (Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review, March 1971)

Already, the effects of E.R.A on wives can be seen in Colorado, where under a state E.R.A., the law that required a husband to support his wife and family was declared unconstitutional!

Texas, too, has felt the effects of its state E.R.A. In 1972, H.B. 784 was introduced in the Texas legislature for the purpose of conforming Texas laws to the E.R.A. This bill would have required a husband to support a wife ONLY IF SHE WAS UNABLE TO SUPPORT HERSELF! H.B. 784 passed committee but was never voted on in the House. However, this change will have to be made under a state or federal E.R.A. once our present law is tested in a Court.

E.R.A. WILL MAKE WOMEN SUBJECT TO THE DRAFT AND COMBAT DUTY!

The position of both the Justice Dept. and the Defense Dept. is that women will be subject to the draft under E.R.A. (Congressional Record, March 22, 1972) "Deferment policy could provide that one, but not both, of the parents would be deferred." (Yale Law Journal, April 1971)

Even though the draft has been temporarily suspended, it can be reactivated at any time. Rep. F. Edward Hebert, Chairman of the U.S. House Armed Services Committee, predicts that the draft will be reinstated within 3 years. If E.R.A. is in effect, both males and females will be drafted. "Women will serve in all kinds of units, and they will be eligible for combat duty." (Yale Law Journal, April 1971) WACs at Fort McClellan, Ala. are already being trained in weaponry and combat!

"Even if segregation of living quarters and facilities were allowed under the Amendment, during combat duty in the field there are often, in effect, no facilities at all, and privacy for both sexes might be impossible to provide or enforce." (General Counsel for Defense Dept., J. Fred Buzhardt) Fort Dix, N.J. has recently begun sexually integrating its barracks!

E.R.A. WILL FINALIZE ABORTION ON DEMAND!

Even with the 1973 Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion, the states are allowed to somewhat regulate or prohibit abortions. Under E.R.A., these remaining

state anti-abortion laws would not be legal, since they are obviously designed on the basis of sex. (Dean Clarence Manion, formerly of Notre Dame Law School)

That Supreme Court decision can now be legally changed in any one of several ways, such as a change in the Court, Congressional action, etc. But the E.R.A. will make permanent and finalize abortion on demand. "It is the hope of the abortionists that E.R.A. will put into the Constitution what they now have only by a split Supreme Court decision." (Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Texas U. Law School)

E.R.A. WILL LEGALIZE HOMOSEXUAL "MARRIAGES"!

All states have laws prohibiting marriage between persons of the same sex. Because these laws clearly discriminate on the basis of the sex of one of the partners, these laws will be overturned by E.R.A. "The stringent requirements of the proposed Amendment argue strongly for removal of this stigma by granting marriage licenses to homosexual couples. . ." (Yale Law Journal, January 1973) Agreeing with this conclusion is constitutional authority Prof. Paul Freund.

And if these couples "marry," will they not be eligible to adopt children, as are normal married couples? After all, denying adoption to couples because "Mommy" is a male, is clearly a discrimination based on sex, and thus would be illegal under E.R.A.! A Minnesota couple, both male, have applied to several adoption agencies for a child; to date their applications have not been refused!

E.R.A. WILL ELIMINATE SEPARATE SCHOOL RESTROOMS FOR MALES AND FEMALES!

Just as racially segregated schools and restrooms were outlawed as a discrimination based on race, so sexually separate public schools and restrooms will have to end. (Prof. Phil Kurland, Editor Supreme Court Review)

Those who favor E.R.A. claim that a Constitutional "Right of Privacy" will prevent this from happening. But the word "privacy" never appears in the Constitution! Those for E.R.A. quote the "young but fully recognized Right of Privacy" established in the 1965 ruling, Griswold vs. Connecticut. However, this case dealt, not with restrooms, but with birth control used by married couples! The Attorney General of Virginia stated that this Court decision dealt with the sanctity of the marital relationship and nothing more!

Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart says, "I can find no such general right of privacy in the Bill of Rights, in any other part of the Constitution, or in any case ever decided by this Court."

Texas H.B. 784, previously mentioned, also involved this issue, as it would have eliminated the provision for a "women only" restroom in county Commissioners Court and provided for a "custodian" (which can be of either sex), rather than a matron as is now required.

It can't happen? The U.S. Dept. of Labor is preparing to abolish the federal requirement that employers provide separate toilet facilities for men and women. (Woman Constitutionalist newspaper, January 13, 1973)

E.R.A. WILL CHANGE SEX-CRIME LAWS!

Many sex-crime laws are based on the ideal of protecting women from predatory males. These laws will be outlawed under E.R.A.! "Seduction laws, statutory rape laws, laws prohibiting obscene language in the presence of women. . . The Equal Rights Amendment would not permit such laws, which base their classification. . . on social stereotypes." (Yale Law Journal, April 1971)

Again, we see changes called for in Texas through H.B. 784. This bill, written to conform Texas laws to a state E.R.A., would have removed as an aggravated assault-or-battery crime the act of an adult male committing serious bodily injury to a female!

E.R.A. WILL NOT HELP DIVORCED WOMEN!

Most courts now award custody of children to the mother, unless she is unfit. But E.R.A. will change this custom. "In 90% of custody cases, the mother is awarded the custody. The Equal Rights Amendment would prohibit both statutory and common law presumptions about which parent was the proper guardian based on the sex of the parent." (Yale Law Journal, April 1971)

E.R.A. WILL NOT HELP WORKING WOMEN!

There are many existing federal and state laws which require equal jobs, pay, training and promotions for women. A few of these are:

- (1) The Civil Rights Act
 - (2) The Equal Opportunities Act
 - (3) The Equal Pay Act
 - (4) The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act
- Etc., etc., etc.

E.R.A. will do nothing in the areas of jobs, pay, training or promotions. Even its chief sponsor in the U.S. House, Representative Martha Griffiths, admits this!

E.R.A. will, however, wipe out protective labor legislation which protects the working woman from being exploited. Those who favor E.R.A. try to say that protective laws will be extended to men also, but the facts show otherwise! For example, in California, the Bank of America was giving taxi rides to its female employees who had to work after dark. This was a thoughtful gesture to protect the women against rapes, muggings, etc. A state court ruled that the bank was discriminating against male employees. Rather than give a similar but unnecessary service to men, the Bank stopped the taxi rides for women!

E.R.A. IS SCARY--BUT THESE AREN'T SCARE TACTICS!

Those who favor E.R.A. have been very critical of those who oppose this dangerous Amendment. They have, for example, accused us of using scare tactics. While most people are upset when they find out what E.R.A. really means, these facts are thoroughly documented and to call them "scare tactics" is simply an attempt by those who want E.R.A. to smear those who do not want these radical changes. Smear tactics like these have been used for years: When you are weak on the facts, attack your opponent! That pretty well summarizes the smear tactics of those who favor E.R.A.!

E.R.A. CAN BE REPEALED!

If 38 states ratify the federal E.R.A. it will become the 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. 33 states have approved E.R.A. but Nebraska and Tennessee have since rescinded (repealed) their ratifications. Texas can too!

"Clearly a state can change its mind either way before the amendment is officially declared to be ratified." (Prof. Charles Black, Jr., Yale Law School)

". . . I have a great deal of respect for Prof. Black and if he said that the State can withdraw its approval of the amendment, then I assume the State can."

(David Kendall, Texas Attorney General Executive Assistant)

WILL E.R.A. BECOME LAW?

Only YOU can decide that. If you do not want the dangerous Equal Rights Amendment, write your State Senator and Representative TODAY and ask them to vote to rescind E.R.A.! The Women Libbers have convinced the state legislators that the small noisy minority who is pushing for E.R.A. represents the majority of American women. Only if YOU and many of your friends write, call or talk with your state legislators will they realize that E.R.A. is NOT what most women want! YOU and I must make our voices heard: write your State Senator and Representatives NOW!!! The responsibility to stop E.R.A. rests with YOU!!!

To find out who your State Senator and Representative are call
your county clerk or local political party headquarters.

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House of Representatives

A MEMORANDUM ON THE PROPOSED EQUAL
RIGHTS AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTIONHON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
of Michigan

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS, Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I spread upon the Record a memorandum on the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution as prepared by a study group of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION--A
MEMORANDUM

(By the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Washington, D.C.,
March 1970)

This paper was presented to the Council by its study group on equal legal rights: Sarah Jane Cunningham, Chairman, Virginia R. Allan, Lorraine L. Blair, Rachel E. Scott, Irene Wischer; Mary Eastwood, Technical Staff.

The proposed equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution would provide that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex," and would authorize the Congress and the States to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation.

The purpose of the proposed amendment would be to provide constitutional protection against laws and official practices that treat men and women differently. At the present time, the extent to which women may invoke the protection of the Constitution against laws which discriminate on the basis of sex is unclear. The equal rights amendment would insure equal rights under the law for men and women and would secure the right of all persons to equal treatment under the laws and official practices without differentiation based on sex.

Joint resolutions proposing that the equal rights amendment be approved for submission to the States for ratification have been sponsored by 75 Senators and 225 Members of the House of Representatives in this (91st) Congress (as of March 11, 1970). Adoption of the amendments would require a 2/3 vote of both Houses of Congress and ratification by 3/4 of the States. Thus there are already more than the necessary number of Senators who are committed to support the amendment

for its approval by the Senate. These joint resolutions are currently pending in the respective Senate and House Judiciary Committees.

The Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, at its meeting February 7, 1970, endorsed the equal rights amendment, adopting the following resolution:

The Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women endorses the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution and recommends that the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women urge the President to immediately request the passage of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment by the Congress of the United States.

The Council's recommendation was transmitted to the President on February 13, 1970.

HISTORY OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Resolutions proposing an equal rights amendment have been introduced in every Congress since 1923. Hearings were held by the House and Senate Judiciary Committees in 1948 and 1956, respectively. The amendment has been repeatedly reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee, most recently in 1964 (S. Rept. No. 1558, 88th Cong., 2d Sess.), and has twice passed the Senate, in 1950 and 1953.

Both times it was passed, however, with the so-called "Hayden rider," which provided that the equal rights amendment "shall not be construed to impair any rights, benefits, or exemptions now or hereafter conferred by law, upon persons of the female sex." Both times the rider accomplished its purpose of killing the proposed amendment since, as the Senate Judiciary Committee has noted, the rider's "qualification is not acceptable to women who want equal rights under the law. It is under the guise of so-called 'rights' or 'benefits' that women have been treated unequally and denied opportunities which are available to men." (S. Rept. No. 1558, *supra*)

Since the proposed equal rights amendment has failed to pass Congress for the past 47 years, it may appear to be a loser, although admittedly it took women more than 50 years to secure the adoption of the 19th amendment. However, a revival of the feminist movement has occurred during the past four years and it is greatly increasing in momentum, especially among younger women. Thus the demand for equal rights and support for the amendment is becoming more widespread with a corresponding increase in likelihood of early adoption of the amendment.

LAWS WHICH DISCRIMINATE ON THE BASIS OF SEX

A number of studies have been made in recent years by the President's Commission on the Status of Women, the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and State commissions on the status of women, concerning the various types of laws which distinguish on the basis of sex. Opposition to the equal rights amendment in the past has been based in part on "fear of the unknown," i.e., lack of information concerning the types of laws which distinguish on the basis of sex and would therefore be affected by the amendment. Further delay in approving the amendment thus need not await any further study of the kinds of laws that discriminate on the basis of sex.

These studies have shown that numerous distinctions based on sex still exist in the law. For example:

1. State laws placing special restrictions on women with respect to hours of work and weightlifting on the job;
2. State law prohibiting women from working in certain occupations;
3. Laws and practices operating to exclude women from State colleges and universities (including higher standards required for women applicants to institutions of higher learning and to the administration of scholarship programs);
4. Discrimination in employment by state and local governments;
5. Dual pay schedules for men and women public school teachers.
6. State laws providing for alimony to be awarded under certain circumstances, to ex-wives but not to ex-husbands;
7. State laws placing special restrictions on the legal capacity of married women or on their right to establish a legal domicile;
8. State laws that require married women but not married men to go through a formal procedure and obtain court approval before they may engage in an independent business;
9. Social Security and other social benefits legislation which give greater benefits to one sex than to the other;
10. Discriminatory preferences, based on sex, in child custody cases;
11. State laws providing that the father is the natural guardian of the minor children;
12. Different ages for males and females in (a) child labor laws, (b) age for marriage, (c) cutoff of the right to parental support, and (d) juvenile court jurisdiction;
13. Exclusion of women from the requirements of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967;
14. Special sex-based exemptions for women in selection of State juries;
15. Heavier criminal penalties for female offenders than for male offenders committing the same crime.

Although it is possible that these and other discriminations might eventually be corrected by legislation, legislative remedies are *not* adequate substitutes for fundamental constitutional protection against discrimination. Any class of persons (i.e., women) which cannot successfully invoke the protection of the Constitution against discriminatory treatment is by definition comprised of "second class citizens" and is inferior in the eyes of law.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN UNDER EXISTING CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides that no State shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The Federal government is similarly restricted from interfering with these individual rights, under the "due process clause" of the Fifth Amendment.

During the past century, women have been largely unsuccessful in seeking judicial relief from sex discrimination in cases challenging the constitutionality of discriminatory laws under these provisions. As the Committee on Civil and Political Rights, President's Commission on the Status of Women, noted in its 1963 Report.

In no 14th amendment case alleging discrimination on account of sex has the United States Supreme Court held that a law classifying persons on the basis of sex is unreasonable and therefore unconstitutional.

In 1874, the Supreme Court held that the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, protected from abridgment by the States under the Fourteenth Amendment, did not confer upon women the right to vote, although the Court conceded that women were persons and citizens within the meaning of the amendment. Similarly, the privileges and immunities clause was held not to confer on women the right to practice law.

The constitutionality of State laws regulating the employment of women (but not men) was upheld in a number of cases brought between 1908 and 1937: maximum hours laws, laws prohibiting night work for women, and laws requiring a minimum wage for women. In 1948, the Court upheld a Michigan law prohibiting (with certain exceptions) the licensing of women as bartenders.

A Florida law providing that women not be called for jury service unless she registers with the clerk of court her desire to serve was held not violative of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1961. However, more recently, a three-judge Federal court in Alabama held that State's law excluding women from jury service violated the rights of women under the Fourteenth Amendment stating:

The Constitution of the United States must be read as embodying general principles meant to govern society and the institutions of government as they evolve through time. It is therefore this Court's function to apply the Constitution as a living document to the legal cases and controversies of contemporary society.

The Alabama statute that denies women the right to serve on juries . . . violates that provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States that forbids any state to "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The plain effect of this constitutional provision is to prohibit prejudicial disparities before the law. This means prejudicial disparities for all citizens--including women. *White v. Crook*, 251 F. Supp. 401, 408 (M.D. Ala., 1969).

In *Abbot v. Mines*, 411 F. 2d 353 (C.A. 6, 1969) the Court reversed a case in which the trial judge had dismissed women jurors from the panel because the evidence in the case required testimony concerning cancer of the male genitals. The Court of Appeals stated: It is common knowledge that society no longer coddles women from the very real and sometimes brutal facts of life. Women, moreover, do not seek such oblivion.

The District Judge's desire to avoid embarrassment to the women jurors is understandable and commendable but such sentiments must be subordinated to constitutional mandates. 411 F. 2d at 355.

As recently as ten years ago, the Supreme Court declined to hear a case in which the Texas Court of Civil Appeals had upheld the exclusion of women from a State college, Texas A & M.

In February 1970 a three-judge Federal court dismissed as "moot" a class action in which women sought to desegregate various all male and all female public institutions of higher learning in the State of Virginia. However, the Court had previously ordered the University to consider without regard to sex the women plaintiffs' applications for admission to the University of Virginia at Charlottesville and to submit a three-year plan for desegregating the University at Charlottesville. *Kirstein et al. v. The Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, etc., et al.* (E.D. Va., Richmond Div. Civil No. 220-69-R).

Although there are very few female criminals as compared to male criminals, some laws provide for longer prison terms for women than for men committing the same crime. Such laws in Pennsylvania and Connecticut have been held to be inconsistent with the equal protection guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment.

OBJECTIONS TO THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Objection. The equal rights amendment is not needed because women already have equal rights under the 5th and 14th amendments.

Answer. The extent to which women may invoke the protection of the due process and equal protection guarantees of the 5th and 14th amendments is unclear. In fact, some recent court decisions have upheld sex distinctions in the law, in spite of these constitutional provisions. Even if the 5th and 14 amendments are in future cases construed so as to eliminate all sex distinctions in the law, the equal rights amendment would simply make the individual's right to equal treatment doubly secure.

Objection. If the amendment were adopted the courts would be flooded with litigation because the meaning of the amendment is not clear; e.g., what are the various "rights" that would be protected? What does "equality" mean?

Answer. The equal rights amendment would not cause excessive litigation unless there were massive resistance to compliance with the amendment's requirement of equal treatment of men and women. If that happened, it would only prove the great need for the amendment. The "right" protected by the amendment is the right to *equal treatment under the law*, whatever the subject of the law may be, without distinction based on sex.

Objection. The amendment would render unconstitutional a wide variety of State laws which now treat men and women differently.

Answer. Some State laws--those which *deny* rights or restrict freedoms of one sex--would be violative of the equal rights amendment and rendered unconstitutional. Laws which *confer* rights, benefits and privileges on one sex would have to apply to both sexes equally, but would not be rendered unconstitutional by the amendment.

Objection. The amendment would require sweeping changes in laws pertaining to the family.

Answer. The amendment would simply require equality. In States where the law provides for alimony only for wives, courts could award alimony to husband as well, under the same conditions as apply with respect to wives. (More than 1/3 of the States now permit alimony to be awarded to either spouse.) Mothers and fathers would both be legally responsible for the support of their children, as is generally the case under existing law.

Objection. The amendment would nullify special State protective labor laws for women, such as those governing limitations on hours of work, weightlifting on the job, and prohibitions against night work, for women employees only.

Answer. This issue is fast becoming moot, because the Federal law (Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) prohibits sex discrimination in employment and requires employers covered by the Act to treat men and women equally. A number of States have already conceded that special restrictions on women may no longer be enforced.

Objection. Women would be equally subject to the draft.

Answer. This is true. Women do serve in the Armed Forces now, but on a volunteer basis. The amendment would also prohibit more stringent eligibility standards for women than for men volunteers.

Objection. The equal rights amendment would require equal rights and responsibilities for women under the law.

Answer. True.

TO BE MINOR



FEMALE

The Legal Rights of Women Under 21

BY JEAN STROUSE

1. Ellen S., a 17-year-old runaway from Scarsdale, is picked up by the police in New York's East Village, and returned to her parents.
2. Mark S., a 17-year-old runaway from Scarsdale, is picked up by the police in the East Village, and released as soon as his age has been established as over 16.
3. Jane M., 16½, is brought to court by her parents because she stays out too late at night, hangs around with a boy her parents have forbidden her to see, and has contracted a venereal disease. She is, claim the parents, "incorrigible, ungovernable, and habitually disobedient." She is declared by the court to be a "Person in Need of Supervision," and sent to a state training school for "rehabilitation."
4. John M., 16½, is brought to court by his family because he stays out too late at night, hangs around with a "wild" group, and has contracted a venereal disease. He is, claim his parents, "incorrigible, ungovernable, and habitually disobedient." "Boys will be boys," the judge admonishes, as he informs John's parents that John is past the age (16) for non-criminal treatment of boys in Family Court. As long as he has not committed a crime, no court action may be taken against him.

* Ms. (August 1972), 26-31. Copyright Ms. Magazine Corp., 1972. Reprinted with permission.

5. Cheryl P. and David B., both 15, have run away from home to live together in a friend's loft. Neither has been to school for six months. They are found by a truant officer and taken to Family Court, where the judge finds them both to be "Persons in Need of Supervision." He sends David to the Warwick School for Boys, and Cheryl to the Brookwood Center for Girls. Both have problems in training school, and each time their respective commitments come up for review, they are renewed and extended. David remains at Warwick for three years, until he is 18 and must be released because he is no longer under the jurisdiction of the Family Court. Cheryl stays at Brookwood for five years, until she is 20, at which age girls are no longer under the jurisdiction of the Family Court.

To be minor and female is to be doubly vulnerable--not only in New York, where these cases were found, but under similar laws in other states across the country. Under the guise of "protection" from the harsh sanctions applicable to adult criminal behavior, minors in trouble with the law have been treated to an Alice-in-Wonderland version of justice to which few constitutional standards of fairness and due process apply. "Punishment" is called "rehabilitation" ("When I use a word," Humpty-Dumpty said, "it means just what I choose it to mean"). Authority is often as arbitrary and irascible as Carroll's Queen of Hearts. And under the guise of "protection" from a long list of evils including criminal sanctions, sexuality, and moral depravity, girls can be "treated" for longer than boys for acts that would not be considered criminal at all if committed by adults.

There are, for example, three laws in New York's Family Court Act that made possible the discriminatory treatment of Ellen S., Jane M., and Cheryl P.

SECTION 718 (a) providing that: A peace officer may return to his parent or other person legally responsible for his care any male under the age of 16 or female under the age of 18 who has run away from home without just cause or who, in the reasonable opinion of the peace officer, appears to have run away from home without just cause . . .

SECTION 712 (b) providing that: "Person in need of supervision" means a male less than 16 years of age and a female less than 18 years of age who does not attend school . . . or who is incorrigible, ungovernable, or habitually disobedient and beyond the lawful control of parent or other lawful authority . . .

SECTION 756 (c) providing that: Successive extensions (of the original placement) may be granted, but no placement may be made or continued under this section beyond the child's eighteenth birthday, if male, or twentieth birthday, if female, without his or her consent and in no event past his or her twenty-first birthday. . .

"Person in Need of Supervision" (PINS) is the awkward appellation given to a New York minor who is in some trouble with the law, but hasn't actually committed a crime. (A minor who has committed a crime is called a "juvenile delinquent" until age 16. A boy or girl who does something *that would be criminal if an adult did it*, as distinct from being "incorrigible" or truant, may be subject to criminal prosecution.) The PINS statute was designed to provide an alternative to criminal prosecution, and that alternative is available to girls for two years longer than it is available to boys.

If in fact the PINS statute were applied to girls between the ages of 16 and 18 who committed crimes--if it were protective in granting them immunity from criminal prosecution--an argument could be made that boys 16 to 18 are being denied equal protection under the law because they have no PINS option after 16. In March, 1972, for instance, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit held that an Oklahoma statute defining "juvenile" as a male under 16 and a female under 18 is unconstitutional in that it denies to boys the equal protection guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In that case, Odie Lee Ree, 17 years old, tried as an adult for a felony crime of burglary, argued that he should have been treated as a juvenile instead, since females are granted the benefits of juvenile court proceedings until the age of 18. The Court held:

We have not been presented with a logical constitutional justification for the discrimination inherent in (the statute defining delinquency). The state, in its brief and oral argument, has simply relied upon the unexplained "demonstrated facts of life." Because the purpose of this disparity in the age classification between 16- to 18-year-old males and 16- to 18-year-old females has not been demonstrated, we hold that (the statute) is violative of the Equal Protection Clause.

Reed v. Page, 40 US LW 2631
(10th Cir 3/11/72)

But no such argument has been made in New York because, according to lawyers and judges who work with PINS-age girls, the law there is not in fact protective. Girls between 16 and 18 who commit crimes are treated exactly like boys who commit crimes, but girls have the additional burden of being brought to court and deprived of liberty for *noncriminal* conduct. Women's rights groups in New York have begun to work on challenging the PINS statute on grounds of equal protection.

Ironically, laws governing the age at which a minor may marry discriminate in the opposite direction. Girls in most states may marry at 16 with the consent of their parents, and at 18 without it, while boys can't marry until 18 with parental consent and 21 without. Although these laws appear to favor women, they in fact strengthen the traditional view that the goal of womanhood is marriage, and that women should be encouraged to marry early and have children--to jump from one "custodial" situation into another--while men are expected to stay free, and prepare themselves for larger social roles.

That the law views and treats girls and young women differently from boys and young men is clear. Not so clear are the justifications for this differential treatment--the contemporary relevance of "protectionism" as applied to women and children, and the actual differences between male and female adolescence, male and female criminal or quasi-criminal behavior, male and female responses to incarceration and to treatment.

Are there, for instance, enough real differences in the numbers and kinds of offenses committed by boys and girls to justify the legal discrimination between the two groups?

Since female offenders have rarely been taken seriously enough to be the subjects of studies, there is not a great deal of information available about girls in trouble with the law. But certain general trends are apparent. Boys, for example, have a substantially higher delinquency rate than girls. According to the 1965 Juvenile Court statistics compiled by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare: "Delinquency remains primarily a boys' problem. They are referred to court four times as often as girls." (Recent statistics, however, show female juvenile delinquency to be rising twice as fast as male: a Government crime report quoted in *The New York Times* on April 12, 1972, found that the boy-to-girl ratio of court referrals narrowed from four to one in the mid-sixties to three-to-one in 1970.)

The kinds of offenses committed by boys and girls also differ. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated in a 1967 report, "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society," that:

. . . Children's Bureau statistics based on large city court reports reveal that more than half of the girls referred to juvenile court in 1965 were referred for conduct that would not be criminal if committed by adults; only one-fifth of the boys were referred for such conduct. Boys were primarily referred for larceny, burglary, and motor-vehicle theft, in order of frequency. Girls for running away, ungovernable behavior, larceny, and sex offenses.

And Edward Eldefonso, in *Law Enforcement and the Youthful Offender*, reported a California study of sex differences in juvenile arrests in 1964 which found that fifteen times as many boys were arrested for major law violations as girls. Even in delinquent girl-gangs associated with gangs of boys, according to New York City lawyer Sarah Gold, the girls' activities were found in a recent study to be relatively innocuous (i.e., noncriminal): the girls are sexually intimate with boy members, work as prostitutes to obtain money for the boys, and serve as courier and errand girls.

In general, it appears that the less violent values of the women's culture are reflected in the kinds of crimes females do and don't commit.

Yet, in spite of the fact that girls' offenses are less serious than boys', girls are neither sentenced to shorter reformatory terms nor given probation more readily. Statistics for the nation as a whole set the boy-girl sex ratio in institutions at about 3 to 1. Thus there are apparently more girls in institutions than the number of their offenses warrants, even disregarding the fact that the kinds of offenses they commit are minor in comparison to boys'.

Apparently, badness in females is simply more threatening and less excusable than the same conduct in males.

A couple of other interesting facts appear in the scanty sociology of female delinquency. It takes more privation in family life and more economic insecurity to stimulate delinquency in girls than in boys. Two Harvard criminologists, Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, have shown higher rates of parental hostility or indifference in delinquent girls' case histories than in boys'. In *New Light on Juvenile Delinquency*, Ronald Steel shows unemployment to be significant in the occurrence of juvenile delinquency, and girls consistently have a

higher rate of unemployment than boys. Nonwhite girls have the highest unemployment rate of any group in the country.

The ostensible reasons for the separate and unequal treatment received by minor females have to do with the "protection" and "special treatment" which the law tries to offer minors vis-à-vis adults and females vis-à-vis males. On the theory that kids in trouble with the law are not the same as adult criminals, juvenile courts tried to establish a flexible set of standards and procedures with which judges and probation officers could act in the "best interests" of the child. In practice, however, the sentiments of protectionism resulted in a system of juvenile justice which, lacking as it is in specific constitutional standards and protections, has become arbitrary, impersonal, and punitive.

A landmark Supreme Court decision in 1967 (*In re Gault*) granted to accused minors some of the constitutional rights guaranteed to accused adult criminals--the right to be represented by a lawyer, to remain silent under questioning, to receive written notice of charges, and to confront and cross-examine witnesses. In the majority opinion on *Gault*, Justice Fortas wrote: "Neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone. . . . Under our Constitution, the condition of being a boy does not justify a kangaroo court. . . ."

Decisions since *Gault* have extended to minors some additional constitutional rights, but not others. The standard of proof for a finding of delinquency, for example, must now be "beyond a reasonable doubt," as it is for a finding of adult guilt. But the Supreme Court ruled in the summer of 1971 that a juvenile is not entitled to a jury trial.

Lawyers familiar with juvenile law claim that there is not much difference now at the adjudicatory stage between the treatment of juveniles and adults accused of criminal conduct. But very little has been established about what happens to kids after the adjudicatory stage: words like "treatment" and "rehabilitation" are euphemisms for commitment to institutions that are at best custodial and at worst brutalizing--even breeding grounds for far more serious crimes.

Few alternatives to institutionalization are available to kids who are sent up for noncriminal conduct as vague as "incorrigibility." No law has established the right of these kids to an adequate response--be it psychiatric care, placement in a foster home, or the opportunity to live with other kids and adults in a drug-rehabilitation or job-training program.

It is theoretically possible to provide alternatives to criminal prosecution and incarceration without depriving kids of basic civil liberties. It is possible to acknowledge the difference between an adult criminal and a child who needs help, and react to them in different ways. But so far these possibilities are theoretical only. While the *Gault* decision did establish that "the condition of being a boy does not justify a kangaroo court," it did not come to terms with the problem of noncriminal conduct, the right to an adequate response, or the need to justify long-term incarceration of children who are simply neglected or troubled--or "the condition of" being a girl.

That condition has been held, in both law and custom, to justify an extraordinarily broad range of official and unofficial discrimination. For example:

. High school girls are frequently asked to leave school if they get pregnant. An Ohio court in 1961 upheld a rule requiring a married girl to withdraw from school while pregnant "in the interest of her own physical well-being" and because she might have a "disruptive" influence on the other students. In other states a girl may return to school after having a baby only if she is married, or only if she was in good academic standing before she had the baby; and many states segregate unmarried pregnant girls into special schools. In Mississippi two unmarried girls were recently prevented from returning to school after having babies on the theory that their presence would have a "contaminating" effect on other students--although the school made no attempt to locate or expel the fathers of the babies who were also students and presumably equally contaminating; lawyers for the girls challenged their exclusion as denying their right to a free public education, and after two years the court ordered the school to readmit them unless it could prove they were "so lacking in moral character as to justify permanent exclusion."

. In many states women under 21 have been required by law to live in college dormitories while no such requirement was imposed on college men. That requirement was declared unconstitutional in Louisiana in 1969.

. In Connecticut recently a 16-year-old girl was sent to the State Farm for Women because her parents and the court agreed that she was "in manifest danger of falling into habits of vice." The law under which she was committed was challenged and upheld on the assertion that her commitment was not a punishment but a "protective safeguard."

. Girls brought in to Family Court in New York are automatically given vaginal Wasserman smears to test for venereal disease, even if they are brought in for nonsexual offenses. The Wasserman test is a terrifying experience for a 12-year-old who has never engaged in sexual activity.

. A 15-year-old pregnant girl was brought to Family Court in New York recently, having decided with her mother to keep the baby. The judge told the girl that if she did not have an abortion the court would take the baby away.

. In spite of the following facts contained in Second Report of the Federal Commission on Population Growth and the American Future: that 27 percent of unmarried girls 15 to 19 years old have had sexual relations; that 95 percent of all girls 15 to 19 know about the Pill; that teenagers accounted for about one quarter of the abortions performed under the New York abortion law during its first year; that pregnancy is the number one cause of school dropout among females in the United States; that teenage mothers have a suicide attempt rate 10 times that of the general population--in spite of this overwhelming evidence of considerable sexual activity among young unmarried girls, there are insufficient programs for making contraceptive advice and services available to young women, and doctors are reluctant to treat minors for venereal disease, contraception, or abortion without the parents' knowledge and permission.

It is abundantly clear from the foregoing examples, from the comparison of the kinds of offenses committed by boys and girls, and from a review of the literature on women and crime, that the definition of social misconduct in women is primarily sexual. "An unstated fear or dislike of sexual promiscuity and illegitimate births by young women and girls" is behind the unequal treatment implicit in the New York Family Court Act, says Sarah Gold, author of an excellent article on "Equal Protection for Juvenile Girls in Need of Supervision in New York State" (from the *New York Law Forum*, Volume XVII, Number 2, 1971).

A probation officer interviewed by Gold says that truancy, ungovernability, incorrigibility, etc., are simply "buffer charges" for "promiscuity" in girls. And the FBI Uniform Crime Report for 1964 claims that "Promiscuity among girls was quite prevalent. . . . Girls accounted for 4 percent of sexual offenses other than forcible rape as compared to 1.5 percent of the boys arrested."

Maybe girls actually commit more sexual offenses than boys. But maybe the above facts are true because parents, judges, police, teachers, and probation officers are more uptight about female sexual activity than about male. The argument is frequently made that females, being physically smaller, weaker, and less aggressive than males, are more likely to "act out" their impulses in self-destructive sexual behavior than in violent, other-directed crimes. "Acting out"--a complex psychoanalytic concept that has to do with behavior expressing an unconscious impulse or fantasy--has become a jargonized term for any behavior of which a judge or social worker or correction officer disapproves; i.e., a girl is "acting out" if she is rebellious, or angry, or noisy, or self-destructive--precisely *what* she is acting out, or *why*, never gets asked. In any case, since the consequences of sexual activity are visible in females, they are punishable, as explained by Albert J. Reiss in an article in *Law and Contemporary Problems* (Volume 25):

While heterosexual intercourse is permitted if it is a private act between an adolescent boy and girl, society clearly does not tolerate the behavior if it becomes public and thereby flouts the mores. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the public reaction to the illegitimate child of the single adolescent girl. The boy is not treated as problematic in this case, but rather it is the girl who is the offender. It has been suggested that the reason for this is that pregnancy by its social visibility challenges the mores. The challenge must, perforce, be met with negative sanctions.

New York Family Court Judge Justine Wise Polier described to Sarah Gold the double standard that is applied to behavior which qualifies as "ungovernable," attributing the differences mainly to the fact that boys don't get pregnant.

The vagueness of such quasi-legal definitions leaves plenty of room for biases and double standards to enter the judicial process: Reiss cites 1,500 cases decided by a metropolitan juvenile court judge, in which the judge

refused to treat any form of sexual behavior on the part of boys, even the most bizarre forms, as warranting more than probationary status. The judge, however, regarded girls as the "cause" of sexual deviation of boys in all cases of coition involving an adolescent couple and refused to hear the complaints of the girl and her family. The girl was regarded as a prostitute.

Attempts to "protect" young females from sexuality--often their own--reflect society's profound confusion and ambivalence about both females and their sexuality. Side by side with the judge who regards girls as the "cause" of sexual deviation in boys--and laws which punish prostitutes but not their customers, and the sexual-political assumption that anybody who gets raped wants to--is all the rhetoric about protection of females and children, and crimes such as "seduction" and "statutory rape." Seduction exists as a crime, according to Gerhard Mueller (in *Legal Regulation of Sexual Conduct*) in order to protect

a weakness which the legislator assumes to exist, especially in young . . . or unmarried female persons. While an act of intercourse with such a person . . . alone may be nothing worse than fornication, in seduction the surrender of the body (in some states: the surrender of chastity) must be achieved by artifice, stratagem, trickery, and deceit, or a promise of marriage and in some states solely by the latter.

Needless to say, a man who marries a woman he has "seduced" will not be prosecuted. Statutory rape is defined as sexual intercourse with a female who is under a certain age, regardless of consent, and has nothing at all to do with forcible rape. The age of consent is usually 16, although Delaware has for some reason established it at 7. That the "victims" of seduction and statutory rape are always female reflects society's judgment that girls under a certain age are not capable of making responsible decisions to engage in sexual intercourse; it makes no similar judgment about boys.

If judgments based on age or sex have to be made at all in the interests of a complex and ostensibly rational social order, they must be, in fact, rational. That is, they must be related to contemporary reality, informed about the actual lives they regulate, nondiscriminatory, and relatively free of personal bias or social prejudice. Present laws which in the name of protection treat girls to longer and different punishments than boys, simply because they are girls and able to bear children, are irrational, discriminatory, and rooted in obsolete social stereotypes. No factual differences between teen-age boys and girls have been shown to justify greater supervisory intervention in girls' lives. On the contrary, adolescent girls are generally assumed to mature faster than boys, both physically and emotionally. No differences between male and female delinquency have been shown to justify longer incarcerations of females--quite the opposite, in fact--or looser applications of constitutional fairness doctrines.

COLLATERAL READING XIV

(ACTIVITY III)

Era and Protective Labor Legislation

In California, both the proponents and opponents of the ERA were well organized with letter-writing campaigns, literature for circulation and educational meetings. The major issue in the campaign was protective labor legislation for women. As the NOW coalition statement indicated, organized labor formed the most concerted opposition effort to the ERA. The AFL-CIO newsletter urged its members to write their congressmen to defeat the ERA. Many legislators, including James Mills, felt the pressure of organized labor. Women labor leaders came to testify before both the Assembly and the Senate committees to voice their opposition to the ERA. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; AFL-CIO, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International; AFL-CIO, and the Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (WAGE), an organization of working women from different unions and occupations, organized for the purpose of enhancing women's rights, all sent *women* representatives to speak against the amendment. Those groups recognized that women are discriminated against in employment, yet they feared the ERA would nullify the existing laws providing minimal protection for women.

This issue became central in California, perhaps because California has the most comprehensive state protective laws in the United States. The opposition pointed out that some 2.5 million women and minors were covered by the protective orders of the State Labor Code and the 14 wage orders issued by the Industrial Welfare Commission. These state protective laws serve as additional safeguards to minimum federal standards. For example, under California protective wage laws no woman, whether employed in inter or intra-state commerce, could receive less than \$1.65 per hour. Without these protective laws women engaged in interstate commerce would be subject to the federal level of \$1.60, suffering a loss of 5 cents per hour, while women who were not engaged in interstate commerce and, therefore, not subject to federal regulations, would lose all minimum protections. Labor opposition also pointed to the possible plight of farm workers if state protective laws were nullified. Women farm workers are subject to the \$1.65 state protections while federal minimums for those engaged in interstate commerce under the 1966 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act brought the minimum farm worker wage to only \$1.30 per hour. Thus, even for those women lucky enough to be engaged in interstate commerce, nullification of state protective laws would mean a loss of 35 cents per hour.

Other protections that the state laws provide were: time-and-a-half pay after eight hours of work per day, as opposed to a federal law of after 40 hours per week; and rest periods every four hours, as opposed to no federal provision for rest

* Margaret L. Miller and Helene Linker, "Equal Rights," *Society*, XI (May-June 1974): 45-48.

periods. The protective orders for women also include some 50 "health, welfare, and safety" measures covering lighting, ventilation, seats on the job, elevator services, toilets and other measures related to job safety.

The labor leaders stressed the benefits that protective laws granted women. Having fought hard to gain these protections, the unions did not want to see any of them nullified by a constitutional amendment. They feared the ERA would wipe out all of these protections in one blow.

Since the ERA calls for equality under the law for both sexes, the labor opposition realized that equality could be gained by either extending protective laws to cover men or by striking down the protections for women. However, they were not ready to entrust the decision of extension or elimination of protections to the courts or the legislature after ratification. They pointed to the recent ninth circuit decision in *Rosenfield v. Southern Pacific Co.* which relied on Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to invalidate any work hour or weightlifting limits for women as an indication of how the courts were going to deal with the protective laws under the ERA. They felt that the ERA would literally be used to pull the chairs out from under women on the assembly line.

Arguments in Utah about protective labor legislation were placed on a par with "bathroom" arguments.

Unions were particularly concerned about the passage of ERA in view of the recent erosion of protective laws through enforcement of Title VII. As of March 1971, the beginning of the California debates on ERA, some 21 states had already nullified all or a substantial part of their protective laws as being in conflict with Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's guidelines in 1971 indicated that protective legislation was actually discriminatory because it did not recognize individual differences among females.

Labor leaders did not agree on the significance of these new guidelines. Some felt that they did not necessitate nullification of protective laws, but rather that they gave new protections to a small number of women who wished to work overtime by saying that an employer could no longer refuse the request on the basis of a state law as a defense. The protective limits for women who did not request exemptions, however, would still remain. This interpretation seems unfounded since court decisions under Title VII have nullified protective legislation as a whole and have not just granted exemptions. Other union leaders felt the impact of the guidelines was still unclear. However, they did not want the ERA to confuse the issue more and erode further whatever protective legislation could still be salvaged. They were not willing to risk possible nullification of protections. They wanted protective legislation extended to men as a

precondition to ratification. Illustrative of this position is the statement of Ann Draper, West Coast director of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO:

Loss of protective laws would open the door to cut into wages and return to sweatshop conditions, such as we see even today in the sweatshops of San Francisco's Chinatown, or in the blue sky sweatshops of California's largest industry, agribusiness. . . .

Will the National Organization of Women reimburse farm workers if they are cut back to \$1 an hour? Will NOW persuade employers to maintain IWC labor standards when these same employers have vigorously opposed every advance in wages and working conditions? Would it not be ironic if professional, business, and career women do the hatchet job on protective laws that employers have failed to do?

Surely it would be a travesty of "equal rights" if women workers were to lose their rights to minimum pay and decent working conditions. We believe that equal rights must mean extending the rights that one sex now has to the other, not the destruction of rights that women workers now have, but their extension to men workers.

The amendment's proponents claimed, on the other hand, that limitations on the numbers of hours a woman can work necessarily denies many women an opportunity for extra income and promotional advancement since such laws make it more economically advantageous for an employer to put a man in a position that would require overtime work. In rebuttal, union leaders relied on a poll of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor taken on March 13, 1971, among union members. The poll studied what union working women viewed as the major obstacles to promotion.

The union members were asked to rate, in the order of their importance, the problems women face in getting job promotions. Sixty percent of the women said management prejudice was the prime problem and ranked lack of training and inadequate child care as second and third respectively. The poll information did not indicate what percentage, if any, of women polled mentioned wage and hour limitations.

While labor representatives had valid complaints about discrimination against women per se, they relied heavily on the view of woman as homemaker in asserting the protective, rather than the restrictive, nature of the maximum hour limitation. In order to fulfill her dual role in society as worker and primary homemaker, a woman needed to work shorter hours. A good example of this underlying traditional view is seen in Ruth Miller's testimony before the House Committee on the Judiciary in 1971. After several pages of legal analysis of the existing California protective laws and the economic hardships that would fall on women if these were nullified, the National Representative of CWA began her discussion of the overtime limit provisions. First she

argued that with the increasing use of automation we should all be thinking of shorter hours. Her second argument, rather than indicating a similar need for men and women to have shorter hours, dealt with the "special role" of women.

The vast majority serve in a dual capacity. Three out of five women workers are married and living with their husbands. Eleven million have children under eighteen. A woman who works eight hours at the job is away from home from nine to ten hours each day. In most cases, she carries the responsibility for home, husband, children. She is the one who does the marketing, food preparation, cleaning, laundry. Extension of the work-day for her simply means endless hours of labor.

Miller goes on to talk about the possibility of future use of day-care facilities, but again objects to the ERA proponents' priorities. We should not be discussing elimination of hour limitations until we have these facilities, just as we should not be discussing equal rights for women until we have protective laws for men. Miller may not be happy with the traditional, unequal dual role of working women, yet she is willing to accept it and work around it.

The proponents of the ERA dealt with all of these issues. The groups most active in responding to the arguments on protective laws were NOW, Common Cause, the ACLU, Women's Equity Action League and the United Auto Workers, the one union that felt the ERA would benefit women. The proponents argued that the laws were not as protective as the unions would make them seem. They agreed that some of the protective laws were actually beneficial. Among these were the laws requiring a minimum wage, rest periods and ventilation, but they felt that other "protections" represented restrictions upon women. The proponents relied heavily on the 1971 Title VII guidelines, stating that these laws have ceased to function as protections in our technological society. They pointed to the injustices created by this so-called protection and relied on examples used by Martha Griffiths, chief House sponsor of the amendment, in the U.S. congressional debates.

So-called protective legislation that said that women could not work at a certain job, for instance, she could never be on the desk of a hotel at night—ignored the fact that right beside the male clerk there was a charwoman working, and that down in the entertainment rooms there was a woman singing or playing the piano.

While the opponents of ERA viewed the court decision under Title VII which nullified protective laws as the beginning of the end, the proponents saw it as the beginning of a realistic approach to deciding which protective laws were beneficial and which were restrictive. The proponents also pointed out that since blue-collar working women, feeling that they were being unduly hindered by the hour and weightlifting requirements, had brought the suit, in California "protective" laws were not benefiting the women they

were supposed to serve. The involvement of blue-collar workers in the campaign for ratification was also stressed in order to negate the charge that the ERA was solely a middle-class phenomenon.

Proponents tried to ease the fears of labor on the nullification of all protective laws. They stressed that no constitutional amendment has ever operated to automatically nullify any law. They emphasized the role of legislative and judicial examination of the laws and the fact that the ERA provides for a two-year period after ratification before it becomes law. Common Cause literature pointed to precedent for an extension of protection when the protections actually conferred a benefit and did not impose a restriction. They relied on the 1970 federal court decision in *Potlatch Forest v. Hays*, which raised overtime pay for men to the higher standard payable to women when an Arkansas protective law was challenged. They also quoted the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee Report on the effects of the ERA:

Such restrictive discriminatory labor laws as those which bar women entirely from certain occupations will be invalid. But those laws which confer a real benefit, which offer real protection, will, it is expected, be extended to protect both men and women.

The proponents used two other arguments on the protective laws. First, they used the 1971 California Supreme Court decision in *Sail'er Inn v. Kirby*, declaring sex a "suspect classification," as an indication that the courts had already gone beyond the feared impact of the ERA on protective laws. However, they did not want to rely heavily on this argument for fear that the opposition would claim that the *Sail'er Inn* decision had gone so far as to render the ERA unnecessary.

When these legal arguments did not stop the strong labor opposition campaign against the amendment, the NOW, the ACLU, WEAL, National Women's Business and Professional Association, Common Cause and the UAW issued a joint statement in April 1972 denouncing labor's real motives for opposition to the ERA.

The objection of labor camouflages the real opposition to ERA. That is, that women should be placed on an equal footing with men in competing for well-paid jobs and overtime.

Perhaps this statement was motivated by labor's attack on the middle-class nature of these proponent groups and their inability to understand the working woman. Although the statement claims that labor was using the protective legislation as a camouflage, the proponents did recognize that ERA's effects on protective labor legislation represented a legitimate issue, but they felt that extension of benefits would come after ratification. The validity of their assessment is currently uncertain. After passage of the ERA, both houses of the California Congress passed a bill to extend all

existing protective legislation to men. Responding to the pressures of business interests that objected to the financial burden of extending wage and rest hours, Governor Reagan vetoed the measure.

The judiciary has followed the governor's lead and has cut back benefits rather than extending them. District Court Judge Renfrew knocked down state laws requiring overtime pay for women after eight hours of work. The suit was brought by Homemakers, inc., a firm that provides house-keeping and nursing services, in an effort to avoid paying overtime to its women employees working a 12-hour shift. The judge accepted the Homemakers' attorney's argument against extending the overtime laws to men. This argument rested largely on support from Governor Reagan's veto of the extension bill.

Subsequently, Congressman Willie Brown introduced bills to equalize protective legislation for men and women. Both bills passed, and the State Industrial Welfare Commission is currently establishing implementation standards that should be in effect by May 1974. Drafts of the proposed standards have extended some of the protections to men and have cut back on others for both men and women.

It seems, then, that some of the concerns about lost benefits of laws establishing minimum wage, rest hours and safety requirements represented valid fears. Considering the present California situation, extension of benefits remains far from certain.

(ACTIVITY III)



WIDOWER STEPHEN WIESENFELD & SON JASON
An entirely irrational distinction.

Life with Father *

The equal-rights movement has bumped up against one of the most powerful bastions of male dominance in the U.S.—and moved it. Last week the men who sit on the Supreme Court, again with Douglas absent, unanimously ruled that an amendment to the Social Security Act granting aid to a widow caring for a child but not to a widower is unconstitutional. Taking a tough stand against sex discrimination, the court said that the Constitution would not tolerate the assumption “that male workers’ earnings are vital to the support of their families, while the earnings of female wage earners do not significantly contribute to their families’ support.”

The case involved Stephen Wiesenfeld, 31, an Edison, N.J., widower whose wife Paula died in childbirth in 1972. Paula had worked as a teacher, earning about \$10,000 a year; her husband, a

self-employed consultant, had an income of \$2,188 during the year before her death. Left to care for their infant son Jason, Wiesenfeld applied for Social Security benefits for the boy and himself. Though he won an award for Jason, Wiesenfeld was told he was ineligible because such benefits were available only to widows. Wiesenfeld sued in federal district court in Newark, charging that the act denied him equal protection and violated the due-process clause of the Fifth Amendment. A three-judge panel agreed, and last week the Supreme Court affirmed that decision.

New Payments. The ruling will give fresh momentum to groups seeking to batter down legal barriers based on sex. Wrote Justice William Brennan for the court: “The gender-based distinction [in the Social Security Act] is entirely irrational.”

The Government had argued that the purpose of the law was to provide an income to women who could not provide for themselves because of economic discrimination. The Justices countered by pointing out that Congress had intended the law to allow women to choose not to work and devote themselves instead to the care of children. But without a mother, said the court, “it is no less important for a child to be cared for by its sole surviving parent when that parent is male rather than female.” The decision allows for a new class of Social Security payments. The Government estimates that such payments would have cost an extra \$20 million last year.

* *Time*, March 31, 1975.

'Total Woman' Finds Joy In Letting Husband Lead*

A husband must have a wife who accepts and admires him and believes in his potential — and lets him take the lead in the marriage — says Marabel Morgan, author of "The Total Woman."

In addition to the 1974 best-seller, Mrs. Morgan shares her experiences in developing the concept of "The Total Woman" in seminars yesterday and today at Vacation Village Hotel, sponsored by San Diego Youth for Christ Women's Auxiliary and Robinson's.

When she was growing up, Mrs. Morgan said, she never observed a happy marriage, and after a few years of her own marriage, it appeared it would be no better than the others she had seen.

She had become a nagging shrew, she said, and her husband, Miami attorney Charles Morgan, was becoming more uncommunicative, until one day he blew up.

He told her, when she opposed him, on plans for the following evening, that from then on they would go where he said, and he would give her 20 minutes to get ready.

Instead of heading for

Reno, she headed for the library and began a self-taught study on saving a marriage.

Her studies and conclusions, she says, when put into practice, produced a dramatic change in her marriage.

Many of her concepts would appear to be an anathema to women's liberationists, some of whom have picketed seminars.

She says, for example: "It is only when a woman surrenders her life to her husband, reveres and worships him, and is willing to serve him, that she becomes really beautiful to him. She becomes a priceless jewel, the glory of femininity, his queen!"

However, said Mrs. Morgan, this concept has, in fact, liberated her, and furthermore, she said, she has found liberationists who have taken her classes and found themselves even more liberated.

These women had found that as they showed love and devotion to their husbands, she said, they were receiving more in return.

She said that a good result of the women's liberation

movement is that women are now given alternatives — they no longer feel compelled to get married and have children at the age of 19.

She now teaches evening classes for working women, and said she has had a number of single women in her classes.

"The basic principles are the same," she said. "In any relationship, people need to be accepted and admired."

Although, now a working woman, Mrs. Morgan still has time to prepare for her husband's arrival home from the office, but has had to curtail other activities in her life, such as giving luncheons and chatting on the phone.

She attended Ohio State University and thought she might like to be an interior decorator.

"Basically, though, I was more interested in being a 'home executive,' and I am an interior decorator — in my own home."

She said that as she and her husband could communicate she became free.

"Now I can say anything I want without being afraid of rocking the boat and then

going into a blue funk for four months."

Mrs. Morgan, a former beauty queen and a strikingly pretty woman of 37, places a high premium on femininity.

A woman, she believes, must make it her business to not only appear attractive to her husband, but must provide him with variety and spice.

"She must lift the everyday, mundane life out of a rut and keep each day exciting."

In her book she tells of greeting her husband at the door in pink baby doll pajamas and white boots. He thought it was great, and the Morgans' two little girls (now ages 5 and 10) thought it marvelous fun.

"None of these things are foolish," says Mrs. Morgan, "but act like catalysts in a general change."

In the marriage relationship, she said, there can be only one leader, but the woman is still free to — and should — express exactly what she feels.

* San Diego Union, May 7, 1975.

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Says League of Housewives

'Women meant to serve, obey'

By PATRICIA NOLAN
Life News Staff Writer

"Man's role in life is to be guide, protector and provider, while woman's duty is to serve and obey."

A quote from the middle ages? Hardly.

IT'S ACTUALLY a recent quote from Jaquie Davison, president of the national League of Housewives.

Mrs. Davison, who has gained national fame over the past three years with her "Happiness of Womanhood" organization, spoke in Allied Gardens the other day about her most current endeavors.

SHE APPEARED before the Youth for Christ Women's Auxiliary at the home of Lois Kilburg, 6996 Winona Ave. Mrs. Davison attacked such topics as women's liberation, mothers with careers, premarital sex and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment.

The room was filled with about 50 attractive, middle-aged women in pantsuits who looked as if they might not have a care in the world outside of cooking and housework.

BUT ALTHOUGH Mrs. Davison emphatically states that being a housewife is the most important career a woman can have, she herself is no ordinary housewife.

She has traveled several times to Washington, D.C. as a lobbyist against the Equal Rights Amendment, and has appeared on numerous television shows across the United States preaching her philosophy.

Although she firmly states that women belong in the home cooking and cleaning, she obviously doesn't have a lot of time to perform those duties herself.

"We live in a man's world, and that's all there is to it," said Mrs. Davison, 37.

"Man is the key and woman is the lock. Together they form a useful function."

"The feminists want to divide men and women, having it be locks versus keys. That doesn't make a feasible combination, however."

MRS. DAVISON formed Happiness of Womanhood three years ago, but changed its name to the League of Housewives last year.

She said the organization currently has a membership of over 1,000, but is hoping to recruit at least 10,000 more women before 1975 is over.

"Good Christian women like myself are against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) because such a proposal would take away the privileges of womanhood," said Mrs. Davidson.

"The women's libbers may want equality, but feminine women desire only protection and love from their men. We don't need an Equal Rights Amendment because it would only serve to destroy the traditional family relationship."

Mrs. Davison said the gravest and most serious aspect of the ERA is

The ERA, which has been ratified by over 30 states and needs backing of just a few more, has the support of such national figures as Betty Ford, wife of the president. Proponents argue that the ERA does not have to mean doing away with separate restrooms or having women serve in combat.)

MRS. DAVISON, the mother of seven and resident of Ramona, is "my protector and provider, and makes all the important decisions in my household."

"A woman is a wife first, and then a mother," she said.

"Her role as a wife is of the greatest importance. If a woman makes her husband number one in her life, and if she lets him know that he is the most important thing in the world to her, then they will surely have a strong unit of love."

MRS. DAVISON said she believes most feminists groups are comprised of "radical lesbians" who preach against motherhood and the traditional family structure.

"Most of those so-called feminists say women should be lesbians because then they will be completely independent of men," Mrs. Davidson said.

"Some of them believe men should be forced to share in the housework and cooking duties. This is absolutely absurd. Those are women's duties. A man works hard all day supporting his family, and he should rest when he gets home."

"I, myself, like to rub my husband's feet when he gets home. He's my protector, and he works hard for me."

MRS. DAVISON said she hates to see women "climbing ladders, being construction workers, and doing other forms of manual labor."

"A woman just can't stay feminine and do those masculine jobs," she said.

"My husband makes the rules around our house. He always holds my hand in public, and he likes me even when I don't wear make-up."

"He's big and strong, and I feel so

JACQUIE DAVISON
"Woman, man fit like lock, key"

the fact that "women would get drafted if the measure passed."

"How many women can honestly say, as good mothers, that they would like to see their young daughters drafted," she asked.

"The ERA bill would also do away with separate restroom facilities in public places. Women would be treated on the same par with men, and this is terrible. We don't want to be equal. We want to be treated like soft, cuddly, feminine little kittens."

safe and secure around him. I feel sorry for those women who do men's work. They must not be so lucky."

MRS. DAVISON, who is a Mormon, said she is against abortion, "no matter what the reason may be."

In her book, "I am a Housewife," she said her first child was the product of rape, and born out of wedlock.

She was divorced once in the early 1960's and married Ronald Davison, a chiropractor, about ten years ago.

Mrs. Davison believes that the establishment of child care centers will eventually lead to government-control of children.

"When both parents work, children literally have to raise themselves," she said.

"If every woman in America who has a man to take care of her goes home and becomes a housewife again, then all of our nation's economic and juvenile delinquency problems will be solved.

"Women are pushing men out of the job market, and that is very bad. A man who has a family to support deserves a job before those so-called 'career women.'"

WHEN ASKED how she finances her frequent travels throughout the country to preach her philosophy, Mrs. Davison said "my husband pays for it all."

She said over the past five years, he has paid a total of \$20,000 to cover her traveling expenses, hotel expenses, and of course, clothes for those special, public-speaking occasions.

Mrs. Davison has appeared on several Los Angeles-Hollywood television shows, including the Regis Philbin Show.

"Regis is really a doll," she recalled with a giggle.

"He's all in favor of what I believe in. Some talk-show hosts have given me a bad time, but not him."

MRS. DAVISON said mothers should teach their young daughters to be "chaste and pure" until they are married.

"It is our duty as conservative and Christian women to instill sacred beliefs in our young daughters," she said.

"We must restore morality, and keep sex in marriage only. That is God's spiritual principle."

MRS. DAVISON SAID it is impossible for a man to "make love to a female who is a competitor."

"One woman I'm acquainted with graduated from medical school and was all set to practice medicine, but gave it all up to be a housewife," she said admiringly.

Mrs. Davison said she "really can't stand" Gloria Steinem, the outspoken journalist and member of the National Organization for Women.

"She brags about her abortion, and says marriage is an outmoded tradition," she said scornfully.

"She's never been married, so what right does she have to say something like that?"

Mrs. Davison said the relationship between a man and his wife should be likened to "Prince Charming and his golden-haired princess.

"Housewives shouldn't turn into nagging shrews," she said.

"Instead, they should admire their husband's big, strong muscles. The center of a woman's happiness is to be loved and respected by her man."

PAUL SCOTT

Monday, September 1, 1975

THE SAN DIEGO UNION

B-7

Woman To Watch Is Anti-Liberation

The woman to watch on the national political scene for the coming year is not a member of the radical women's liberation movement or a leader in government.

She is Phyllis Schlafly, a tireless, 47-year-old housewife, mother from Alton, Illinois, author, lecturer, TV-radio commentator, and vigorous leader of the fight against the so-called Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

After engineering the legislative upset of the year by soundly defeating the well-financed, White House-supported move to ratify ERA in the nation's state legislatures this year, Mrs. Schlafly is organizing a national counter-offensive against the entire women's liberation movement and most of what it stands for.

In a letter to her faithful anti-ERA forces scattered throughout the country, the vivacious Midwest women's leader has called for the formation of a new national women's forum "to bring together all women and men who believe in God, Home, and Country, and are determined to defend the values that have made America the greatest nation in the world."

The carefully timed move is a major attempt to unite the separate forces throughout the nation now opposing abortion, pornography, the downgrading of the family and marriage, and the destruction of community schools, and provide these groups with a positive program so they can take the offensive.

The new spiritually-motivated organization will go all out in supporting a series of rights for families, mothers, fathers, the unborn, poor, crippled and the aged which Mrs. Schlafly says are now being threatened by proposals being pushed by the women's liberation movement and

the federal government.

These rights will range from those of a woman to be a full-time wife and mother, and to have this right recognized by laws that obligate her husband to provide the primary financial support and a home for her and their children, both during their marriage and when she is a widow, to the right of voluntary prayer in the nation's schools.

Other rights to be pushed will include (1) the right to life of all persons from conception to natural death; (2) right of children to attend school in their own neighborhood; (3) right to have local governments prevent the display of printed or pictorial materials that degrade women or men in a pornographic, perverted, or sadistic manner; and (4) the right of citizens to live in a community where state and local government and judges maintain law and order by a system of justice under due process, and punishment that is swift and certain.

The latter right is being pushed by the new organization in order to mobilize the nation's women in an all out fight against increasing crime, including violent attacks on women.

While noting that men are welcome to join the new organization, Mrs. Schlafly stresses that the forum will be basically a women's group since "liberty is a woman, justice is a woman, victory is a woman, and mother is a woman."

"Western civilization cannot endure without women of virtue and courage who provide leadership on the moral issues," she writes in her memorandum announcing the new counter-offensive.

While the battle against ERA will be continued and stepped up, one of the new organization's immediate targets will be the Depart-

ment of Health, Education and Welfare's new regulations on sex discrimination in schools that went into effect last month.

In her opening blast at the HEW edict, Mrs. Schlafly charged that the regulations represent "a complete takeover of our schools and colleges by the radical women's lib movement."

Calling for a campaign to change or void these regulations, Mrs. Schlafly stated:

"These regulations include the financing of abortions for teachers and students, requiring colleges to call women Ms instead of Miss or Mrs., forbids schools and colleges to give any job preference to a wage-earner supporting a family, requires reverse discrimination against male teachers and students, mandating everything coed and gender-free throughout the educational system.

"This and other mischief will now be enforced on our schools with the full power of the federal government — by bureaucrats and judges."

By linking together all of these groups, Mrs. Schlafly believes the new organization will have a larger membership by the end of the year than all of the radical women's organizations.

If that happens, the new women's forum could have a major impact on the 1976 Presidential and congressional elections, according to Mrs. Schlafly. This could make moral issues as important as economic and foreign policy issues in the coming campaign.

And that's one of the objectives of the woman from Alton, Illinois, and the reason to keep an eye on what she is trying to accomplish.

Total Fascination

A class of middle-aged women is practicing foot stomping. "That's right," says the teacher, "now walk briskly to the door, pause, lift your chin higher, and look back over your shoulder." The women are taking one version of a lesson in "How to be cute, even adorable when you are angry," an exercise the Fascinating Womanhood movement uses to bring husbands to heel.

Later the women will learn how to pound their fists on their husbands' chests in childlike rage. "Men love it," says the movement's founder and guru, Helen B. Andelin, 55. A devout Mormon, she developed her methods years ago when she felt her own marriage going sour. Now, after eight children and 32 years of marriage, her husband adores her, she reports, and even helps out at the Fascinating Womanhood Foundation in Santa Barbara, Calif. Eleven thousand teachers have been trained to teach feminine arts and craftiness the Andelin way in schools and churches across the country: in the past 14 years 300,000 women have taken the eight-week, \$15 course. Their primary text is Andelin's 1965 book, *Fascinating Womanhood* (Pacific Press; \$6.95), which has sold more than 400,000 copies, and is about to be issued in paperback. Students will be paying \$12.50 for a new kit that includes the paperback edition of *Womanhood*, plus such items as the Domestic Goddess Planning Notebook, for listing tomorrow's chores, and the Love Book, for scribbling down the endearments her husband will utter once the wife learns her lessons.

Righteous Power. Basically, Andelin preaches conservative Christian doctrine on the need for wives to submit to husbands. She also teaches a kind of psychic judo for women to use on their mates: give in to get what you want, because submissiveness will bring "a strange but righteous power over your man."

Beneath all Andelin's devotional trickery lies a core of compassion. For example, she suggests that before a wife tries to reform an alcoholic husband, she should fast for three days to get some idea of the pain withdrawal will cause him.

Andelin is not the only woman preaching a potent antifeminist message rooted in conservative Christian teachings. Her most popular rival is Marabel Morgan, 37, of Miami, a housewife and mother of two. Morgan's book, *The Total Woman*, released quietly in late 1973 by Fleming H. Revell, an obscure New Jersey publisher, sold 370,000 copies at \$5.95 to become the nation's top non-fiction bestseller in 1974. (It was missing from most bestseller lists because it was sold mainly in small-town shops and

HAL BERGSON



RAY FISHER



FASCINATING WOMAN'S ANDELIN & TOTAL WOMAN'S MORGAN WITH THEIR SPOUSES

Sufficient men to be Presidents and not enough women to be good mothers.

bookstores unpolled by the list makers.)

Total Woman courses, which Morgan started four years ago, last only four weeks (one two-hour class a week) and cost \$15. Her students, who have included Singer Anita Bryant, the wife of Astronaut Frank Borman and those of a dozen Miami Dolphin football players, have been taught to find happiness by living entirely for their husbands. Like Fascinating Women, Total Women celebrate male dominance and depend on guile and sauciness to get their way, but they use sex more overtly than their Fascinating sisters.

A Total Woman is instructed to be ready for intercourse every night for a week, to try to seduce her husband in an unlikely spot like under the dining-room table or in the hammock. "He may say, 'We don't have a hammock.' You can reply, 'Oh, darling, I forgot!' If you are creative and imaginative, he'll love you for it." She should also try to greet her man at the door in "an outrageously sexy outfit." (The children get a kick out of this too, says Morgan.) One Southern Baptist woman wore only mesh stockings, high heels and an apron to welcome her mate home from work. She reports that her husband shouted, "Praise the Lord!" and finished his dinner very rapidly.

Other tips: put a sexy note in your husband's briefcase or lunch box and call him at his job to say "I crave your body." (One woman got the wrong number and found herself talking to her husband's startled friend.)

Some of the techniques for ending arguments are familiar to marriage counselors, for instance, making a list of your husband's best qualities and reading them off to him with enough embellishment to make him melt. But there are limits to profitable deceit. When one

wife said her Miami Dolphin husband complained at being asked to open all the food jars, Morgan replied sensibly: If his ego is that strong, only hand him the jars you really can't open.

One of the aims of both Morgan and Andelin is to get women out of competition with men, and Andelin says that many of her graduates quit their jobs unless the extra income is essential. "There are sufficient men to be Presidents and not nearly enough women to be good mothers," she declares. But whatever the movement owes to the anxieties raised by women's lib, Andelin insists she is not antifeminist. She is simply concerned with making traditional marriage work. "I was even surprised when women's lib came on the scene," she says. "I thought Fascinating Womanhood was what all women were waiting for."

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COLLATERAL READING XX
(ACTIVITY IV)

SHE TAKES A STAND AGAINST LIBERATION *
By JOAN COOK

Helen B. Andelin, a 50-year-old housewife from Santa Barbara, who looks considerably younger than her years, is a self-appointed spokesman for the "silent majority" of American women who believe that women's place is in the home.

Married for 27 years, with eight children ranging in age from 8 to 23, she has spelled out her message in a book, "Fascinating Womanhood," which her husband published privately (Pacific Press, \$5.95).

"I'm touring Dallas, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Detroit and here to talk about 'Fascinating Womanhood' and why I am opposed to women's lib," Mrs. Andelin said, crossing her shapely legs. She was wearing pink pumps to match her pink jersey dress.

AGAINST DAY CARE

"Women's lib has degraded women's importance in the home, making pots, pans and children menial tasks and urging women to find fulfillment in contributions outside the home," Mrs. Andelin said, settling back in her chair.

Women's lib has particularly gained her ire with its proposals for more day care centers.

"Day care centers will encourage women to leave home," she said. "They will make it easier for those who are tired and bored to take jobs away from their homes."

Through her book, Mrs. Andelin dangles the prospect of achieving "celestial love," a state that turns a garden variety housewife into a "domestic goddess." To do this requires that a woman combine her angelic and human sides, she says, and her ideal woman is called "Angela Human."

"Fascinating Womanhood," which gives step-by-step instructions on her method for captivating a husband, was published in 1963 as the result of some booklets Mrs. Andelin stumbled on and decided to revise called "Secrets of A Fascinating Woman" written in the twenties.

"I came to New York three times hoping Doubleday would publish it, but they decided it went against the mainstream," she said.

With the onslaught of women's lib, however, "Fascinating Womanhood" as a philosophy was never more needed, she feels.

On role-playing within a marriage, she describes the man's role as threefold; guide (he rules the household), protector (he performs tasks requiring superior strength), and provider (as enunciated in the Bible).

A woman, by the same token must be feminine, mature, childlike and beruffled. The feminine woman, according to Mrs. Andelin eschews tweeds or tailored clothes, anything that is masculine in dress.

* *New York Times Magazine*, September 28, 1970. © 1970 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

SUPERIOR CHARACTER

"A man wants a woman he can put on a pedestal and worship from below, someone whose character is superior to his," Mrs. Andelin said.

She met her husband, Dr. Henry B. Andelin, a former dentist turned businessman, when they were both students at Brigham Young University (they are Mormons) where she was majoring in home economics. After two years, she dropped out in favor of marriage.

Dr. Andelin promotes cattle ranches in this country and Australia where Mrs. Andelin said he owned a million-acre ranch.

Her concern with womanhood stems from the state of American marriage, she said.

"I began to observe all the troubles marriages around me were having...and I felt my own marriage had drifted to a state of mediocrity," she said. "I thought that marriage should be like a fairy tale. I knew something was wrong."

Since "Fascinating Womanhood" transformed her own life, Mrs. Andelin has tried to bring the word to others through classes, a newsletter and another book aimed at single women called "The Fascinating Girl" (also privately published).

Further, she is organizing a nationwide "Celebration of Womanhood" for Sept. 30, when women are urged to wear their most feminine dresses, sing before breakfast, serve their husbands breakfast in bed with a smile, tell them how great they are and how much their wives love being homemakers and mothers.

It goes without saying that Mrs. Andelin takes a dim view of the equal rights legislation, save for the equal pay part.

"Women shouldn't try to take over men's jobs," she said. "To do it a woman would have to take on masculine traits. Women are not meant to have top jobs."



WOMEN IN THREE WARS



WOMEN IN THREE WARS

Background

The role and contribution of women in U.S. history has been neglected and excluded from the standard texts. This entire source-guide for teachers was conceived as one tool to remedy the dearth of information about individual women and women's lives--lives and events concurrent with the supposedly male events of wars, peace, treaties, politics, corporate expansion, and so on. The exclusion of women's roles and contributions in time of war is no exception to the general rule of exclusion.

The selections in this particular unit introduce students to some women who took active roles in the events surrounding the Civil War, World War I, and World War II. Women performed in the traditionally male roles of war production workers, GIs, military strategists, nurses, and spies.

An added dimension to the double standard becomes evident when looking at women in war service. Women who did make vital contributions were usually denied recognition and compensation merely because they were women. It was even harder to become involved in these war-related activities because of their intrinsic identification with maleness. Once involved in the activity, it was difficult or impossible to be recognized for the service; having done the work or given the service, women were not fully compensated or often given no compensation at all. In the case of the World War I Red Cross workers women volunteers were required to pay their own way in order to help.

Women in Front Line Service

Dr. Mary Walker, the only woman to be awarded the Medal of Honor, had the honor rescinded 41 years after it was awarded to her by President Andrew Johnson. The accompanying citation gave reasons for the honor, including, ". . . [she] endured hardships of a prisoner of war four months in a Southern prison while acting as a contract surgeon," though the rescinding statement says, "Nothing had been found in the records to show the specific act or acts for which the decoration was originally awarded."

Credit for devising the Tennessee Campaign making the North's victory possible in the Civil War was never given to Anna Carroll. After the war was won and Grant's path to the Presidency could no longer be threatened by giving a woman credit for military advice, her battle for recognition began.

Further action was prevented by Miss Carroll's long illness and death, though there continued to be some popular agitation for a reopening of the case well into the nineties. As a result of popular pressure, the matter was taken up by the Court of Claims in 1885, and reported as case 93. After a careful analysis of the difficulties hitherto encountered, the report says: "It may not be amiss to submit that two and only two drawbacks or obstacles that we have met to the immediate,

prompt, and unanimous passage of an act of Congress in recognition of and adequate compensation for the patriotic services and successful military strategy of Miss Carroll in the late Civil War are found first in the objection which President Lincoln found and which he explained to Senator Wade--that the Tennessee plan was devised by Miss Carroll, and military men are jealous of all outside interference. . . . The second obstacle which has stayed us is a (to some men) seemingly insuperable objection often demonstrated in words or act by our legislatures--a misfortune or disability over which Miss Carroll has no control whatever--namely, that she is a woman."¹

In the Civil War, as in the Revolutionary War, many wives followed their husbands into battle. They filled in as cooks, nurses, and washers. Gerda Lerner has indicated that approximately 400 women served as regular soldiers throughout the war, disguised as males.

The most famous female Union soldier was Sarah Emma Edmonds, who served as a nurse, spy, courier, and soldier under the name of Franklin Thompson. She, like many of her kind, was discovered only when she became sick. She married after the war, but established her military rights satisfactorily and was given a veteran's pension in 1884.²

Northern and Southern women served as spies. Mrs. Rose O'Neal Breenhow, a Washington hostess, and Belle Boyd supplied the Confederate Army with information gleaned from others. Pauline Cushman and Elizabeth Von Lew were helpful to the Union cause. Harriet Tubman is the only black woman known to have served as a Union scout and spy. Women on both sides were active as saboteurs, scouts, and couriers for both armies.

Women in Support Service Roles

At the start of the Civil War the Union Army had one hospital of 40 beds and no trained nurses. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed Henry Bellows to head the newly established U.S. Sanitary Commission. It was through this commission that the 3,000 women of the Women's Central Association for Relief under direction of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell trained nurses and raised the approximately \$50 million spent for medical care purposes.

Mary Bickerdyke was inspired to go off and help wounded troops of the Civil War after hearing a sermon about their dreadful plight. Even though she had five children, she took upon herself the dangerous and onerous task of feeding, nursing, and caring for thousands of sick and wounded--after she had made arrangements for her family to be cared for. She had to invent ways to make some sort of sanitary conditions, procure food, and get transportation for the wounded soldiers. She also had to take brief trips to raise money to purchase supplies, as none was forthcoming from the War Department. During five years of service she received no salary. Though generals under whom she served considered her

¹ Marjorie Greenbie, *My Dear Lady* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1940), p. 292.

² Gerda Lerner, *The Woman in American History*, p. 99.

work invaluable, no money repayments were even considered until 20 years after the end of the war. At that time the recommended \$50 per month was reduced to \$25 per month, which she was awarded.

Clara Barton, who nursed soldiers without an appointment or pay by the Sanitary Commission, made her greatest contribution by organizing the training of nurses and establishing the International Red Cross.

Despite the obvious need nursing did not become a part of the planning of any of the branches of the U.S. War Department for almost 40 years. The problems caused by this inadequacy during the Spanish-American War led to the establishment of the Army Nurse Corps in 1901 and was followed by the creation of the U.S. Navy Nurse Corps in 1908.

Home Front Service

Actually the home front service of women has been similar in all wars.

. . . women stepped into the places left by men. They kept up farms and plantations, fed and clothed the civilians, and helped to supply the soldiers. They worked in arsenals and munitions factories. More women than ever entered the mills of the North and, for the first time in history, women took their places in the offices of the federal government. The "government girls" were a controversial wartime innovation, but on both sides of the battle lines necessity triumphed over custom. Female government workers, like all female workers, had two things to recommend them: they were available in a period of severe manpower shortage, and they would work for less pay than the men.³

The home front and the front lines became more distinct in World War I when the theater of conflict left the home shores and became worldwide. Articles discussing the advisability of greater use of women in industry during World War I shows ambivalence by the government and industrialists. But inevitably, when the shortages of male workers occurred, women were found capable of doing whatever needed doing, though often the job titles were changed or the job was split into several jobs and the pay likewise cut.

The hesitancy of the average honest employer in paying a woman exactly the same rate as a man is on account of not knowing what the future may bring forth, and, therefore, he prefers to start women at a lower rate than men in order that he may experiment on their relative value. As time goes on, however, it is reasonable to assume that the difference in the wage rate between a man and a woman doing the same work will be comparatively little.⁴

It was not until September 1918 that an official call for women workers was made. Unfortunately the U.S. did not collect accurate statistics on the number of women workers during World War I.

³ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁴ "Are Many Women Replacing Soldiers in Industrial Work?" *Current Opinion*, January 1918, 61.

However, some interesting estimates were made in October 1918 by Miss Marie Obenauer, chief woman examiner of the National War Labor Board and long a close student of the problems of women in industry. She set the increase in the number of women workers since the beginning of 1915 at about 1,000,000, of which 400,000 entered manufacturing and 500,000 clerical occupations.

Persons not familiar with the subject of women in industry fail to realize that 8,075,000 were found in gainful employment as long ago as 1910 and 1,650,000 in the manufacturing industries alone in 1914. Allowing for the normal increase of 100,000 a year, it is likely that nearly 2,000,000 American women were at work in factories when the United States entered the war. The total number gainfully employed in all occupations was probably not far from 10,000,000.⁵

World War II

When yet another worldwide conflict was on the horizon and the U.S. involvement became certain, the discussion of women shifting their type of employment again became lively. To what extent are female employees being substituted at the present time? To what extent do employers expect that such substitution will be necessary in the future? In general, on what types of work, not now ordinarily performed by females, are they satisfactory? Are wages paid females the same as for males in the same or similar positions, provided production is the same in both quantity and quality? What problems, if any, arise from the employment of females in positions ordinarily filled by male workers?

Again questions were raised as to what all this would do to the femininity of American women, their children, and family life. The answers to those questions had to wait for the end of the war because there was no question that the labors of millions of women were absolutely necessary for success in our war commitment. Nor was there any question about women being paid for their labor. Women received proportionately higher salaries at this time than ever before. Even married women who had been barred or ejected from jobs in the '30s were requested to apply for jobs.

Armed Services

Women were actively recruited for all branches of the service--with pay, but not with equivalent benefits. Some women were given opportunities to obtain some highly technical skills. Appropriate credit was given to their role by assigning them their own units with appropriate names. For example, the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps, created in May 1942, became the Women's Army Corps (WAC) in July 1943 when it became a part of the United States Army. The women's reserve of the U.S. Naval Reserve, known as the WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service), was established in July 1942. They released 50,500 men for duty afloat or overseas and took over 27,000 other jobs in the expanded naval shore establishment. Until 1944 they were restricted by law to

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Margarett A. Hobbs, "War Time Employment of Women," *American Labor Legislation Review*, September 1918, 333.

service in the mainland, Alaska, and Hawaii. The women's reserve of the U.S. Marine Corps was set up in February 1943. By the end of World War II personnel numbered 831 officers and 17,714 enlisted women. Congress approved a women's reserve for the U.S. Coast Guard known as the SPARS in November 1942.

For all of the unstinting service rendered by women in time of war it was a French official who summed up an appropriate tribute to all of their efforts when he said, "If the work of women should stop for 20 minutes, the Allies would lose the war."

Women's Contributions Toward Peace

The United Nations and many member countries declared 1975 as International Women's Year. A special international conference was called by the U.N. which took place in June in Mexico City. It was heralded as an unprecedented event. The writers of this guide attended that conference and can testify to the excitement of the gathering of 7,000 world women at the unofficial tribune and the frustration with the 1,000 official delegates at the U.N. session. The point is, women gathering to discuss peace in a world forum is not unprecedented, as you will note in the selections "Women at The Hague" and "Women at the Peace Conference."

The meeting of May 1915 in The Hague brought together women from countries involved and uninvolved in the current hostilities. Forming their own agenda and raising their own funds, they set down resolutions that became the cornerstone of President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points of 1918.

Jeanette Rankin, the first woman elected to Congress, made what she considered a stand for peace by voting against U.S. entrance into World War I. Her thoughtful contributions regarding appropriate legislation and necessary steps regarding education, the economy, and industry in a war situation seem to have gone unheeded by journalists who wrote reams of copy devoted to assuring the public of Rankin's femininity in spite of her present occupation. Columns ran on about the color of her hair, the cut of "her well-fitting garments," her love of children, and the number of babies named "Jeanette," while a stray paragraph mentioned her position on substantive issues.

Objectives

1. Students will know that women played a decisive role through war and peace contributions.
2. Students will demonstrate respect for the women who developed ingenious methods of coping with wartime conditions and providing necessary services.
3. Students will demonstrate their awareness of the lack of credit accorded women.
4. Students will know that these outstanding women have been omitted from their history texts.

ACTIVITY I. CIVIL WAR

A. Have students read the following articles:

1. "Whose Strategy Won the Civil War?" (page 227)
2. Excerpts from Congressional documents concerning Anna Ella Carroll (page 229)
3. "Plan of the Tennessee Campaign" (page 231)
4. "The Story of Mother Bickerdyke" (page 234)
5. Biography of Mary Ann Ball Bickerdyke
6. "Army Revoked Medal of Honor" (page 236)

B. Ask students to devise a defense (persuasive arguments) for Anna Carroll, Mary Bickerdyke, and Dr. Mary Walker to convince a Senate Committee to restore/bestow their appropriate recognition for services rendered to the U.S. The teacher might preface this exercise with some discussion centering around the question, "Why is it more difficult for women to get appropriate recognition for their contributions in war efforts, usually a masculine-dominated arena?"

ACTIVITY II. WORLD WAR I

A. Jeannette Rankin

1. Have students read the following articles:
 - a. "Our Busy Congresswoman" (page 238)
 - b. "The Lady from Montana" (page 242)
2. Direct students to observe the accounts of hairdo, clothing (style, color, etc.). What were the masculine or feminine impressions that are discussed? Discuss how the writer of "The Lady from Montana" shows unease with the subject of the story. Why do the students think the author is so conscious of the sex of Representative Rankin?
3. Have students read article reprinted in *The Ladies Home Journal* from the *Chicago Herald*. Contrast Representative Rankin's concerns about war conditions and women's contributions with those of other articles which are concerned about purely inconsequential themes (see page 244).
4. Assign roles of Jeannette Rankin and four members of the press. Direct members of the press to persist in asking questions dealing with her clothing, hair color, babies' names, what she carries in her purse, etc. Representative Rankin should attempt to direct the interview into the lines of her concerns which are expressed in the *Chicago Herald* article--with not too much success.
5. Lead discussion to investigate why Representative Rankin was not taken seriously by members of the press.

B. Women's contributions to victory in World War I

1. Have students read the following articles:
 - a. "Red Cross Service" (page 249)
 - b. "Women's Land Army" (page 251)
 - c. "Wartime Employment of Women" (page 252)
2. After the three articles have been read by the students, divide the class into three parts. Assign each third the identity of a woman described in each of the articles. Students are to assume the assigned role and write a letter home describing:
 - a. Why she is involved in what she is doing
 - b. How she feels about what she is doing
 - c. How she feels she is contributing to the war effort

ACTIVITY III. HOME FRONT SERVICE IN WORLD WAR II

A. Have students read the following articles:

1. "Arms and the Women" (page 253)
2. "What About the Women?" (page 258)
3. "Whatever Happened to Rosie the Riveter?" (page 262)
4. "What About Women After the War?" (page 265)

B. After the students have read the articles, ask them to construct a questionnaire (using the types of questions asked in the articles) to be used in interviewing women who actually worked in the war industry. After the personal interviews tabulate the responses to the questionnaires and discuss the results.

ACTIVITY IV. MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN IN WORLD WAR II

A. Have students read the following articles:

1. "The Lady's a Soldier" (page 266)
2. "Hobby's Army" (page 267)
3. "The WASP" (page 269)

B. Give a brief talk on women's participation in the various branches of the armed services. After they have absorbed the information contained in the articles, have students:

1. Write a newspaper article which explores the ungrounded fears that women will be ineffective in military service due to their nature and how, in fact, women did participate in the branches of the armed services effectively.
2. Make a recruiting poster and devise a pitch for use by a military recruiter to convince women to join up.

C. Tape an interview with a former WAC, WAVE, WASP, etc., from World War II, then an interview with a woman currently a member of the military services to compare training, benefits, housing, uniforms, acceptance, etc., that they receive now with what was given in World War II.

ACTIVITY V. WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD WORLD PEACE

A. Women at The Hague and Wilson's Fourteen Points

1. Have students read the following articles:
 - a. *Women at The Hague* (page 274)
 - b. "President Wilson's Fourteen Points" (page 278)
2. Teacher should lead discussion dealing with President Wilson's historical role as originator of the concept of the League of Nations plus the philosophical import of articles 1 through 5 in his Fourteen Points. Students should be placed in groups of no more than five. They should be directed to find similarities between the Resolutions at The Hague and the Fourteen Points, compare dates of issuance, and make hypotheses about where the ideas for Wilson's Fourteen Points came from. Teacher should inform students after they complete this exercise and have reported their hypotheses that Jane Addams presented copies of the Resolutions to country leaders and to President Wilson in person.
3. Students playing roles of women at The Hague conference sit in center of circle for fishbowl arrangement. The outer circle will be composed of students playing roles of leaders of warring countries in World War I. The students in the outer circle interject with refusals and arguments against the resolutions under consideration. Teacher should provide figures of casualties, the psychology and political strategy of the leaders, plus basic facts contained in the secret treaties.

B. Other peace conferences

1. Have students read the following articles:
 - a. *Women at The Hague* (page 274)
 - b. "Women at the Peace Conference" (page 279)
 - c. "Feminism and Imperialism" (page 280)
2. Ask students to outline the important issues in each article.
3. Have them organize and plan a peace conference for the year 2005. Assume women are now in decision-making roles in countries around the world. What types of resolutions will be on the agenda? Considerable time should be spent beforehand projecting world conditions at that time.

COLLATERAL READING I

(ACTIVITY I)

Whose Strategy Won the Civil War?*

Out of the depths of obscurity has come the name of Anna Carroll, one of the least-known contributors to the preservation of the United States of America during the Civil War. Who was she and why is she forgotten? Why are her contributions shrouded in confusion? Did she or did she not develop the plan by which Union forces were able to divide the South and thereby ultimately win the Civil War?

For 14 years Anna Carroll and her supporters presented claims to the Congress of the United States for recognition and financial recompense for being the developer of the military strategy which enabled General Grant to capture Forts Donelson and Henry, cut the Confederate railroad lines in half, and take the Mississippi River. It was this military action which gave Union forces the ability to defeat successfully a seemingly invincible South.

If Anna Carroll was, in fact, the author of the Tennessee Plan, why was she not ever given official credit for being so? If she were not the author of this plan, how did she have the nerve to demand this recognition while the men who directed the war were still alive? If she was not the author of the plan, why was she supported by Benjamin Wade, chairman of the Committee for Congress on the Conduct of the War, Mr. Bragg, member of the committee, and the many other men listed in the excerpt from Congressional Documents?

When Senator John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky made a fiery speech in July 1861 urging the wavering border states to secede, Miss Carroll wrote and published a vigorous *Reply*, which she submitted to the War Department for possible distribution by the administration. The Assistant Secretary of War, Thomas A. Scott, urged her to print an additional 10,000 copies and paid her \$1,250 from his own pocket. She next suggested to Scott that she continue to write pamphlets in support of the administration, with financial details to be worked out later, and Scott appears to have acquiesced (see her letter to Lincoln, July 2, 1862, Anna Ella Carroll Papers). With this hazy mandate, she produced two lengthy pamphlets, *The War Powers of the General Government* (1861) and *The Relation of the National Government to the Revolted Citizens Defined* (1862). In them she argued that secession was a wholly unconstitutional act and that the Confederacy, with no legal existence, was merely the sum total of a great number of individual acts of rebellion and as such should be dealt with by the president, as commander-in-chief, rather than by Congress. She further asserted that after the rebellious citizens had been subdued and the military force withdrawn the states would resume their normal function, thus making "Reconstruction" an executive and not a Congressional prerogative. On this interpretation, too, it followed that Congress had no power to emancipate the slaves of the South. (Miss Carroll, along with many border-state Unionists, strongly opposed the abolitionists in Congress and vainly urged Latin American colonization schemes upon Lincoln as an alternative to presidential emancipation.) Although the extent to which these pamphlets were circulated and read is uncertain, they have been described by a recent student as "the best and most persuasive contemporary rationalizations of the theory upon which Lincoln acted."

In 1870 Miss Carroll brought before Congress a new claim: that she had been an important wartime military strategist. The known facts of the case are obscure, but they appear to be as follows. In August 1861, with no official authorization, Miss Carroll accompanied Lemuel D. Evans, a Texas Unionist and former Know-Nothing leader, now a State Department agent, on a mission to St. Louis. Here she by chance encountered the wife of one Charles Scott, a river pilot and amateur strategist who was convinced that

* James, *op. cit.*, I, 290-291.

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the Tennessee River offered to the Union forces a better access to the Confederacy than did the Mississippi River route then being contemplated. Representing herself to him as a War Department official, Miss Carroll persuaded Scott to set down in writing the advantages of a Tennessee River invasion, and upon her return to Washington in late November 1861, she submitted this plan, or her version of it, to Thomas A. Scott. It is also a fact that in January 1862 Thomas Scott was sent west by the War Department, and in February General Grant did move up the Tennessee River, taking Forts Donelson and Henry in a drive that ultimately broke Confederate power in the West.

COLLATERAL READING II

(ACTIVITY I)

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS

*Forty-sixth Congress, House of Representatives, Report No. 386, Mar. 3, 1881,
Committed to the Committee of the Whole House And Ordered to Be Printed.*

Anna Ella Carroll

Mr. Bragg from the Committee on Military Affairs submitted the following report (to accompany bill H.R. 7256.):

The committee on Military Affairs to whom the memorial of Anna Ella Carroll was referred, asking for national recognition and reward for services rendered the United States during the War between the States, after careful consideration of the same, submit the following:

In the autumn of 1861, the great question as to whether the Union could be saved or whether it was hopelessly subverted depended on the ability of the government to open the Mississippi and deliver a fatal blow upon the resources of the Confederate power. The original plan was to reduce the formidable fortifications by descending this river, aided by the gunboat fleet, then in preparation for that object.

President Lincoln had reserved to himself the special direction of this expedition, but, before it was prepared to move, he became convinced that the obstacles to be encountered were too grave and serious for the success which the exigencies of the crisis demanded, and the plan was then abandoned and the armies diverted up the Tennessee River, and thence southward to the center of the Confederate power.

The evidence before the Committee completely establishes that Miss Anna Ella Carroll was the author of this change of plan, which involved a transfer of the national forces to their new base in north Mississippi and Alabama, in command of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, that she devoted time and money in the autumn of 1861 to the investigation of its feasibility is established by the sworn testimony of L. D. Evans, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Texas, to the Military Committee of the United States Senate in the 42d Congress (see pp. 40, 41 of memorial) that, after that investigation, she submitted her plan in writing to the War Department at Washington, placing it in the hands of Col. Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War, as is confirmed by the statement of Hon. B. F. Wade, Chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton (see p. 39 of memorial); also by Hon. O. H. Browning of Illinois, Senator during the war in confidential relations with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton (see p. 39 of memorial); also that of Elisha Whittlesey, Comptroller of the Treasury (see p. 41 of memorial); also of Hon. Thomas H. Hicks, governor of Maryland, and by Hon. Frederick Fackey's affidavit, Comptroller of the Public Works of Maryland (see p. 127 of memorial); by Hon. Reverdy Johnson (see pp. 26 and 41 of memorial); Hon. George Vickers, United States Senator from Maryland (see p. 41 of memorial); again by Hon. B. F. Wade (see p. 41 of memorial); Hon. J. T. Headley (see p. 43 of memorial); Reverend Doctor R. J. Breckinridge on services (see p. 47 of memorial); Professor Joseph Henry, the Reverend Doctor Hodge of the Theological Seminary at Princeton (see p. 30 of memorial); and remarkable interviews and correspondence of Judge B. F. Wade (see pp. 23-26 of memorial).

That this campaign prevented the recognition of Southern independence by its fatal effects on the Confederate States is shown by the letters from Hon. C. M. Clay (see pp. 40, 43 of memorial) and by his letters from St. Petersburg; also those of Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton from London and Paris (see pp. 100-102 of memorial).

That the campaign defeated national bankruptcy then imminent and opened the way for the system of finance to defend the Federal cause is shown by the debates of the period in both houses of Congress (see utterances of Mr. Spalding, Mr. Diven, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, Mr. Roscoe Conkling, Mr. John Sherman, Mr. Fessenden, Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Foster, Mr. Garrett Davis, Mr. John J. Crittenden, found for convenient reference in the appendix to the memorial, pp. 47-59. Also therein the opinion of the English press as to why the Union could not be restored).

The condition of the struggle can best be realized as depicted by the leading statesmen in Congress previous to the execution of these military movements (see the synopsis of debates from *The Congressional Globe*, pp. 21, 22 of memorial).

The effect of this campaign upon the country and the anxiety to find out and reward the author are evidenced by the resolution of Mr. Roscoe Conkling in the House of Representatives the twenty-fourth of February, 1862 (see debates on the origin of the campaign, pp. 39-63 of memorial). But it was deemed prudent to make no public claim as to the authorship while the war lasted (see Colonel Scott's view, p. 32 of memorial).

The wisdom of the plan was proved not only by the absolute advantages which resulted, giving the mastery of the conflict to the national arms and evermore assuring their success even against the powers of all Europe should they have combined, but it was likewise proved by the failure to open the Mississippi or win any decided success on the plan first devised by the government.

It is further conclusively shown that no plan, order, letter, telegram, or suggestion of the Tennessee River as the line of invasion has ever been produced except in the paper submitted by Miss Carroll on the thirtieth of November, 1861, and her subsequent letters to the government as the campaign progressed.

It is further shown to this committee that the able and patriotic publications of the memorialist, in pamphlets and newspapers, with her high social influence, not only largely contributed to the cause of the Union in her own state (see Governor Hicks's letters, p. 27 of memorial) but exerted a wide and salutary influence on all the border states (see Howard's report, pp. 33, 75 of memorial).

These publications were used by the Government as war measures, and the debate in Congress shows that she was the first writer on the war powers of the government (see p. 45 of memorial). Leading statesmen and jurists bore testimony to their value, including President Lincoln, Secretary Chase, Stanton, Seward, Welles, and Attorney General Bates, Senators Browning, Doolittle, Collamer, Cowan, Reverdy Johnson, Thomas Hicks, Hon. Horace Binney, Hon. Benjamin H. Brewster, Hon. Wm. M. Meredith, Hon. Robert J. Walker, Hon. Charles O. Connor, Hon. Edward Pierrepont, Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. Thomas Corwin, Hon. Francis Thomas of Maryland, and many others found in the memorial.

The Military Committee, through Senator Howard in the 41st Congress, 3d session, document No. 337, unanimously reported that Miss Carroll did cause the change of the military expedition from the Mississippi to the Tennessee River, etc., and the aforesaid committee reported through the Honorable Henry Wilson the evidence and a bill in support of this claim.

Again, in the 44th Congress, the Military Committee of the House favorably considered this claim, and Senator A. S. Williams was prepared to report and, being prevented by want of time, placed on record that the claim is incontestably established, and that the coun-

try owes to Miss Carroll a large and honest compensation both in money and in honors for her service in the national crisis.

In view of all these facts, the committee believe that the thanks of the nation are due to Miss Carroll and that they are fully justified in recommending that she be placed on the pension rolls of the government as a partial measure of recognition for her public service and report herewith a bill for such purpose and recommend its passage.

Appended to the preceding report was the following:

The Honorable E. M. Stanton came into the War Department in 1862 pledged to execute the Tennessee campaign. Statement from Hon. B. F. Wade of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Apr. 4, 1876.

"Dear Miss Carroll: I had no part in getting up the committee; the first intimation to me was that I had been placed at the head of it. But I never shirked a public duty and at once went to work to do all that was possible to save the country. We went fully into the examination of the several plans for the military operations then known to the government, and we saw plainly that the time it would take to execute any of them would make it fatal to the Union.

"We were in the deepest despair until, just at this time, Colonel Scott informed me that there was a plan already devised that, if executed with secrecy, would open the Mississippi and save the national cause. I went immediately to Mr. Lincoln and talked the whole matter over. He said that he did not himself doubt that the plan was feasible but said that there was one difficulty in the way, that no military or naval man had any idea of such a movement, it being the work of a civilian, and none of them would believe it safe to make such an advance upon only a navigable river with no protection except a gunboat fleet, and they did not want to take the risk. He said it was devised by Miss Carroll, and military men were extremely jealous of all outside interference. I pleaded earnestly with him, but I found there were influences in his cabinet averse to his taking the responsibility and wanting everything done in deference to the views of McClellan and Halleck. I said to Mr. Lincoln. 'You know we are now in the last extremity, and you have to choose between adopting at once and executing a plan that you believe to be the right one, and save the country, or defer to the military men in command and lose the country.'

"He finally decided that he would take the initiative, but there was Mr. Bates who had suggested the gunboat fleet and wanted to advance down the Mississippi as originally designed, but, after a little, he came to see that no result could be achieved on that mode of attack, and he united with us in favor of the change of expedition as you recommended.

"After repeated talks with Mr. Stanton, I was entirely convinced that, if placed at the head of the War Department, he would have your plan executed victoriously, as he fully believed it was the only means of safety as I did. Mr. Lincoln, on my suggesting Stanton, asked how the leading Republicans would take it—that Stanton was fresh from the Buchanan cabinet and many things were said of him. I insisted that he was our man withal and brought him and Lincoln into communication, and Lincoln was entirely satisfied; but, so soon as it got out, the doubters came to the front. Senators and members called on me. I sent them to Stanton and told them to decide for themselves. The gunboats were then nearly ready for the Mississippi expedition, and Mr. Lincoln agreed, as soon as they were ready, to start the Tennessee movement. It was determined that, as soon as Mr. Stanton came into the department, Colonel Scott should go out to the Western armies and make ready for the campaign in pursuance of your plan, as he testified before the Committee. [Author's note: Scott's letters from the West may be found in Vols. 3-7 of the letters of Secretary Stanton in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.]

"It was a great work to get the matter started. You have no idea of it. We almost fought for it. If ever there was a righteous cause, you have one. I have often been sorry that, knowing all this, as I did, I had not publicly declared you as author. But we were fully alive to the importance of absolute secrecy. I trusted but very few of our people, but, to pacify the country, I announced from the Senate that the armies were about to move, and inaction was no longer to be tolerated, and Mr. Fessenden, head of the Finance Committee, who had been told of the proposed advance, also stated in the Senate that what would be achieved in a few more days would satisfy the country and astonish the world.

"As the expedition advanced, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stanton, and myself frequently alluded to your extraordinary sagacity and unselfish patriotism, and all agreed that you should be recognized for your most noble services and properly rewarded for the same. The last time I saw Mr. Stanton, he was on his deathbed; he was then most earnest in his desire to have you come before Congress, as I told you soon after, and he said, if he lived, he would see that justice was awarded you. This I have told you often since, and I believe that the truth in this matter will finally prevail.

B. F. Wade.

Bill H.R. 7256 to accompany the Report of the Committee on Military Affairs: "Be it enacted that the sum and emoluments given by the government to the major generals of the United States Army be paid to Anna Ella Carroll from November, 1861, the date of her service to the country to the time of the passage of this act, and further payments of the same amount as the pay and emoluments of a major general in the United States Army be paid her in quarterly installments to the end of her life, as a partial measure of recognition of her services to the nation."

LETTER OF WADE TO MISS CARROLL ON THE DAY GRANT WAS INAUGURATED

"Mar. 4, 1869

"I cannot take leave of public life without expressing my deep sense of your services to the country during the whole period of our national trouble. Although the citizen of a state almost unanimously disloyal and deeply sympathizing with secession, especially the wealthy and aristocratic class of people to whom you belonged, yet, in the midst of such surroundings, you emancipated your own slaves, at a great sacrifice of personal interest, and, with your powerful pen, defended the Union cause as ably as it has ever been defended.

"From my position on the Committee on the Conduct of the War, I know that some of the most successful expeditions of the war were suggested by you, among which I might instance the expedition up the Tennessee River.

"The powerful support you gave Governor Hicks during the darkest hour of your state will be known to history. You prompted him to take and maintain the stand he did and thereby saved your state from secession and consequent misery.

"All these things, as well as your unremitted labors in the cause of reconstruction, I doubt not are well known and remembered by the members of Congress of that period. I also well know in what high estimation your services were held by President Lincoln, and I cannot leave the subject without sincerely hoping that the government will yet confer upon you some acknowledgement of all your services and sacrifices.

"Sincerely your friend,
"B. F. Wade."

PLAN OF THE TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN.*

Not long after the extra session of Congress was called to meet in July, 1861, Senator Breckinridge was promptly on the ground and took his seat. This was in exact accordance with the purpose for which he was sent—not at that time fully understood. But when he gave utterance to his secession views, and made his speech in aid of the disunion movement, and support of the Southern Confederacy, the entire animus of the movement was disclosed. I wrote a reply to that speech, intending it for publication, as a citizen of Maryland, and of the United States. It referred to every point he had made in favor of disunion; defended the President, as supreme ruler of the nation and its armies, in every action he had taken to save the Union; and showed the design of the conspirators against the Government in all they had done, to the first drop of blood shed to unite the South, and, as they vauntingly thought, to cut off the North, and establish their own independence as The Nation. As soon as it was printed, I sent a copy to the President through Attorney-General Bates. Mr. Lincoln returned his grateful thanks, saying it was the best defense of his rule that any one had ever made. Mr. Hamlin, the Vice-President, also expressed his gratification, as also did the various members of the Cabinet. This paper was largely circulated by the War Department as a “war measure.”

Col. Scott showed me a paper from the President concerning this and other articles that I might write which would be valuable to the country.

During all the summer months of 1861 my time was mostly given to the preparation of writings to put the people in possession of the true theory of our Government and to define and defend the war powers it possesses.

In the fall, in compliance with an understanding from the Assistant Secretary of War, Col. Thomas A. Scott, indorsed by Mr. Lincoln, I concluded to go West and inform myself as to the mili-

tary and political situation in that quarter. I promised to write anything valuable I obtained, and also to submit my writings for the Government to the Department (meaning to Mr. Lincoln), in advance of their publication: which was done. I soon found that, in the West, the cause of the Union was deemed hopeless, even by its strongest adherents.

Some of my recent articles had been copied into newspapers in the West, so that as I visited the various military camps I received a cordial welcome from the officers in command. I visited them all. It was a matter of much surprise to me to find so many people in that section impressed with the Southern doctrine of State Rights. Every now and then some one would say: “I am not surprised, Miss Carroll, that you are a Union woman, because your State is in the Union; but would you be if this were not the case?” It struck me there was danger then in the great North-west. Leaving Chicago, I went on to St. Louis, where I remained for some weeks.

While prosecuting my writing I was also diligently inquiring as to the best means of averting the dangers which threatened the Union.

At the Mercantile Library in St. Louis, where I went in search of books that I wanted, I met the brother of General Albert Sydney Johnston, who happened to be the librarian, and had read some of my papers in the press. Being the brother of the most famous soldier in that section of country, I gained from him a great deal of information as to what was expected to be accomplished. He had once lived in my vicinity, and readily told me his views on the prospect. This led to a very warm discussion, and drew many into the library to listen. He expressed astonishment that I, a Southern woman, should be working so vigorously against my section, and after all it would amount to nothing; that, by spring, the whole thing would be at an end; Price would have redeemed Missouri, and Buckner the whole of Kentucky; and, before spring, even, the party of peace would be at the front, and demand concessions from your Government or strike for independence.” “Independence, indeed!” said I, “before spring your boasted independence as a nation will be at an end.” “How,” said he, “are you going to reduce the Mississippi?” I looked him in the face, surrounded by his friends, and said, “yes; before spring all the strongholds in your Mississippi will have vanished as thin air.”

* *North American Review*, CXLII (January-June 1886): 342-347.

They all sneered, and thought me, no doubt, a very foolish calibrator. However, Mr. Johnston continued to lend me books, and treated me with due attention. As the brother of Gen. A. S. Johnston, I took note of all he said. I also took notice of the opinions I heard expressed by the various persons whom I met. I went to General Fremont's. He was absent on one of his expeditions. His wife was in command in St. Louis.

While assuming great confidence in the Union cause, I must confess my apprehension of danger grew daily more intense, and my determination to find some solution for the difficulties of the situation grew stronger.

President Lincoln was relying on the great Mississippi to defeat the armed power of the South, and all with whom I talked said it never could be opened, and that there was no possible way to turn that strongly fortified river, impregnable to any advance on it from Columbus to Memphis.

When I saw that battle-torn regiment, 7th Iowa, as it fled into Benton Barracks, that memorable autumn morning after the battle of Belmont, it sickened my heart, and a conviction fastened upon me that there *was* a way of escape; that either the Tennessee or Cumberland River might afford the needed depth of water for the passage of the gun-boats into the heart of the South. I meant to find out, if I had to remain in St. Louis a month longer. It struck me the river pilots ought to be able to satisfy me as to the depth and width of all the Western rivers. I resolved to seek them, and inquire, for I knew the high military men would never inquire of them, as I told General Grant long after. I heard that the wife of one was in the hotel where I stopped. Her husband was a pilot on one of the transports at the battle of Belmont. I went to her room, and made many inquiries, and gained some information. She was then anxious as to her husband's fate, but promised to send him to me as soon as he should return to the city.

As soon as I heard of his return from Belmont, I sent for him myself, when he came, and I learned what I wanted to know, and found that the water in the Cumberland River was deep enough for the gun-boats at some seasons, and the Tennessee River at *all* seasons, the thought flashed on me in an instant, that *here* was the true way to the solution of the military problem, that here we could do all that it had been designed to do on the Mississippi, with none of the difficulties which that river presented.

Judge Evans, of Texas, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, had fortunately called at that moment. I was greatly excited at this thought, and, meeting him in the hall, I inquired of him if such a movement could not be made. He was a Western man, born near the Tennessee River, and had lived near the foot of the Muscle Shoals most of his life. He concurred, after a little reflection, that the right way would be as I proposed, to transfer the national armies from the Mississippi to the Tennessee River. I said, "It shall be done; I will have it done," with some emphasis, and I then asked him to come and join me in obtaining from the pilot, Mr. Scott, information as to his special knowledge of the matter. He told us that every one of the pilots believed it certain destruction to attempt to reduce the fortifications on the water of the Mississippi River. I wrote at once to the Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney-General, who had been the one first to suggest the gun-boats for the Mississippi expedition, and to Assistant Secretary of War Col. Scott, and then to President Lincoln. I next proceeded to Ohio, and then to Covington, Kentucky. On every hand the talk was only of storming the impregnable Mississippi. Stopping in Buffalo, on my way to Washington, I met there, among other friends, ex-President Fillmore. He seemed anxious to learn my opinion of the dark look of things, and what I thought would be the result. He expressed his faith in the discovery I revealed to him, and asked if President Lincoln had heard from me, and advised me to lose no time in submitting my views to the Cabinet at Washington. Soon after arriving in Washington City, I took the papers which I had prepared, and called with them at the War Department on the 30th day of November, 1861. There I saw Colonel T. A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War. He said he had received my letter from St. Louis, and had showed it to the President, who was anxious to see me, and hear what I had to say. I then opened the paper with maps and diagrams, and read slowly, explaining to Colonel Scott. He was a good deal excited, and said earnestly, "Will you give me this?" I said, "It is for the use of the Government I have prepared it. Will you take it to the President? If you have this fully executed you will not only save this Union but cover yourself with glory." Then I left him, without a thought of myself, thinking only of the plan, and feeling conscious that it would in Colonel Scott's hands be faithfully executed as I had advised, to the salvation of the Union. And it was.

Early the same evening it was in the hands of President Lincoln, and fully understood as coming direct from me. Colonel Scott said to me afterward, and spoke of it again not long before his death, that he never saw a greater manifestation of pleasure than Mr. Lincoln expressed as soon as he saw my solution of the great problem of the war.

Mr. Lincoln had unbounded confidence in Colonel Scott's knowledge of the railroad system of the South, and its use in war. He at once understood the plan in all its bearings. President Lincoln had reserved to himself, as supreme commander of the army and navy, control of the Mississippi expedition, and had been waiting for the building of the gun-boats which were in progress when I was in St. Louis. His order was to let him know when they were completed. I knew all that was going on pretty well, but I thought no more of myself than if I had had no connection with the military operations, and in conversation generally made no allusion to the probability of a change of plans in the department of the West, knowing all the time, however, that it had been my great privilege to have placed in the hands of the Government the plan for the transfer of the national armies from the Mississippi River to a new base in North Mississippi and Alabama, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and being assured by those who received it that it was the first and only idea of such an action that had ever been presented, then or afterward.

Of this fact there never was, and never can be, the shadow of a doubt.

Mr. Lincoln's terms of approval were intensely strong. The army and gun-boats had gone up the Tennessee River, carrying astonishment and consternation to the South, and had demonstrated the wisdom of the plan of advancing upon that line.

When the news reached the Capitol at Washington, of victory in Tennessee, Judge Evans, of Texas, hastened to my lodgings, and exclaimed: "You have accomplished your work. The army is on the march upon the Tennessee, and the decisive point is gained." I cannot express my joy at that eventful moment. But in my heart I ascribed it all to the Providence of my Almighty Father, who had so ordered it all, and endowed me with ability to do this work for the safety and glory of my country.

I went to the War Department and saw Mr. Tucker, Assistant Secretary in place of Colonel Scott, who was then in the West. Mr.

Tucker said to me: "I know from Colonel Scott, who told me before he left, Miss Carroll, that you were the one who had designed this plan, and that he himself was going West to assist in having it executed." I had a letter from Mr. Tucker, expressing his interest in my claim, just before my last terrible illness.

Hon. Elisha Whittlesley, First Comptroller of the Treasury, and a valued friend of mine, requested a copy of my plan soon after the great victory for the Union had been achieved and all hearts were being cheered by the blessing. He said he wished to leave the copy of the draft as a legacy to his children to remember me. Some years after Mr. Whittlesley's death, his son sent it to me from Mansfield, Ohio.

In the House of Representatives, February 24, 1862, when Mr. Roscoe Conkling introduced his resolution to find out, and award merit to those who planned these military movements, I was present, and heard the names of one and another military man spoken of as the probable author of the plans.

Several, both in the House and in the Senate, knew all the facts of the matter, but kept silent from prudential motives. The desirability of silence occurred to my own mind, and was also suggested by Mr. Lincoln and the War Department, so that no expression was then given to the true facts of the case. Some, however, who knew about it, thought it wrong to have no proclamation of the facts at that time, and could scarcely be restrained from saying so. The discussion being continued some time, one claiming the honor for his military preference, and one for another, a member from New York, a Mr. Olin, said, "Let the Secretary of War be requested to give us the information." Then Mr. Thaddeus Stevens made a motion to reconsider, and the original resolution was referred to committee on military affairs, February 25, 1862.

There it slept.

ANNA ELLA CARROLL.

COLLATERAL READING IV

(ACTIVITY I)

THE STORY OF MOTHER BICKERDYKE*

By E. V. Erlandson, R.N.

Assistant Superintendent of the Training School, Wesley Memorial Hospital, Chicago

During the Civil War, when typhoid and other diseases, to say nothing of the sufferings due to shot and shell, were working havoc among the soldiers of the northern armies, President Lincoln issued a call for nurses. This was repeated everywhere in the north, especially from the pulpits. Mrs. Bickerdyke, while attending services at the Congregational Church in Galesburg, heard the plea. She immediately went home, made arrangements with neighbors to care for her five children, and with five thousand dollars' worth of medical and sanitary supplies, was soon hurrying southward. This was in 1861, and now began the career of an army nurse that did not end until the last soldier was discharged from the hospital in Springfield, Illinois, in 1866. She was first stationed at Cairo, where Mary Safford, the "Cairo Angel" was already at work. As the sick soldiers were much in need of baths, her first move was to obtain bath tubs. This she did by having a pile of empty hogsheads sawed in two, and every sick soldier was given a bath and clean linen. Next, diet kitchens were fitted up, and Mother Bickerdyke assumed command.

An instance of her ability to handle annoying situations was shown by what she did when she found that delicacies from her supplies were disappearing in a way for which she could not account. Some dried peaches were stewed and left to cool on the kitchen table. In due time there was a distressing amount of abdominal symptoms among the waiters, stewards and ward masters. "Umph! Umph! So peaches don't agree with you, eh? You may be worse off next time you eat stolen sauce; there will be ratsbone in it some night." A refrigerator with a lock was ordered from the north; one night the lock was broken and the next morning a cook was in the guardhouse. Thus it was all along the line. "By whose authority are you here?" said a surgeon to her. "I am here in obedience to the Lord God Almighty! Have you any higher authority? Stand out of my way!" was the answer. But this divine authority was soon certified to by the necessary mundane officials. All right-minded surgeons soon begged for her assistance, and those high in command saluted her.

"Who is the complainant?" asked General Sherman of an officer with a grievance. "That meddlesome old woman from the north," was the reply. "Oh, well, I can do nothing for you; she outranks me," said the general.

The following order was issued: "All guards, pickets and military authorities will pass and re-pass Mrs. Mary A. Bickerdyke from any point within the lines, and all military railroads and chartered steamboats will grant her free transportation. By order of General U. S. Grant."

* *American Journal of Nursing*, XX (May 1920):628-631.

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Using this pass, she succeeded in getting supplies whenever she needed them. The men at the front showed signs of scurvy and needed vegetable diet. There were plenty of vegetables in Nashville, and she finally persuaded General Sherman that she needed two carloads a day, and she got them. Soon she was distributing potatoes and onions up and down the railroad line from Huntsville to Chattanooga.

Her interest was always for the sick and wounded and her influence in keeping up their morale was not the least part of her beneficent influence.

Her hospital boat was the first to land at Pittsburg after the battle of Shiloh—when the crafts of war for that purpose were crude; and there seemed to be lint and bandages, clean linen and hot coffee, sugar and milk, wherever she went.

During a short furlough she came north to raise money, stimulate contributions for articles needed by the army, direct shipments, look after the orphan children of her soldiers, and to encourage interest on the part of the civilian population in the needs of the men at the front.

Her great collection of livestock from among the farmers of northern Illinois is still a vivid memory that has been handed down from among the people of that region. In less than twenty days she was able to collect and send two hundred cows and almost a thousand laying hens to her camp of 15,000 sick soldiers in Memphis who, as she said, were trying to get nourishment out of poor milk (half chalk and water), for which they were paying fifty cents a quart.

The soldier had his monthly pay—little as it was, yet something—he had his food and clothing, and was cared for as well as could be under the circumstances. What did Mother Bickerdyke have in the way of compensation? Who can believe that she served all those dreadful five years with no recompense, save that of an approving conscience and the love of the soldiers and their friends?

It was not until twenty years after the war that a movement was started by the Grand Army of the Republic to get a pension for her. The bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Logan of Illinois, and in the House by Representative John D. Long of Massachusetts. It was reported out of these committees with most hearty endorsements, setting forth the fact that in their estimation she had done more work for the army than any Brigadier General, and had saved more lives than any one surgeon. Notwithstanding these high estimates, the House Committee ungenerously recommended that the amount be reduced from fifty to twenty-five dollars per month. That she got, and nothing more. Alas! the gratitude of republics.

In recognition of her patriotic and heroic devotion to the "Boys in Blue," in camp, in hospital, and on the field, the State of Illinois has, under the auspices of the Mother Bickerdyke Memorial Association, erected this statue, 1904.

Mother Bickerdyke (1861—Army Nurse—1865)

She outranks me.—General Sherman

On the west side of the pedestal, there is also an inscription:

MARY A. BICKERDYKE

1817 - - 1901

The conception and execution of this impressive work of art is due to the genius of Mrs. Alice Ruggles Kitson, the most famous of American women sculptors.

So far as the writer has been able to learn, this is the first and only monument erected in this country that dignifies and commemorates the work of the nurse in this exalted and beautiful manner. Indeed, if my memory is not at fault, there are but four other like monuments in all the world, one in Austria and two in England. One of these emphasizes the gratitude of the English people for the pioneer, but wonderful work of Miss Florence Nightingale, and the other was recently erected to keep alive the service and final sacrifice in the form of martyrdom of Edith Cavell for the suffering soldiers of her native land. The fourth one is in Toronto, Canada.

COLLATERAL READING VI
(ACTIVITY I)

ONLY WOMAN TO WIN IT
ARMY REVOKED MEDAL OF HONOR*

By Philip R. Smith Jr.
Women's News Service

WASHINGTON -- Only one woman was ever granted our nation's highest award for valor, the Medal of Honor, and it was taken away from her.

Between Oct. 16, 1916 and Jan. 17, 1917, all of the 2,625 Medals of Honor which had been awarded up to that time were considered by a review board and 911 names were stricken from the list, Dr. Mary Walker's among them.

The reasons cited were that "nothing had been found in the records to show the specific act or acts for which the decoration was originally awarded."

For almost half a century after it was awarded to her by President Andrew Johnson on Nov. 11, 1865, Dr. Walker wore her medal proudly. The citation accompanying it read, in part, that she, "has devoted herself with much patriotic zeal to the sick and wounded soldiers, in the field and hospitals, to the detriment of her own health and also endured hardships as a prisoner of war four months in a Southern prison while acting as a contract surgeon."

Risked Life

Yet still on the rolls are many medals awarded to men for seizing enemy flags or carrying water to wounded, actions that were indeed gallant, but trivial in comparison to the work performed by women like Dr. Walker who, for years, risked their lives daily on the battlefields to save lives.

Frank G. Carpenter, a well-known Washington newsman of the day, described Dr. Walker as he knew her during the 1880's: "This woman, who served as a surgeon during the war, always dresses in the finest broadcloth Prince Albert Coat. Her legs are encased in well-cut pantaloons; she wears a nicely laundered shirt and necktie. And she looks just like a little withered boy dressed in a man's clothes. Her brown-black hair hangs in soapy locks down to her neck beneath her tall hat for dress parade or her derby for more ordinary occasions."

Often when the doctor walked on the streets boys would follow her, leering at her costume, and occasionally hurling objects at her. She was not above chasing them, with a stick.

Bunker Hill Baby

Mary Elizabeth Walker was born on Nov. 26, 1832, at Bunker Hill, N. Y., a

* *San Diego Union*, March 25, 1973.

descendant of Alvah and Westa Whitcomb Walker, who had settled in Plymouth, Mass., in 1693.

In 1865 she became the second woman to graduate from Syracuse Medical School. Upon her graduation from medical school, however, she found it a hard struggle too make a living in a field dominated by men.

Dr. Walker offered her services to the Union Army not long after the attack on Fort Sumter. She was designated as Acting Assistant Surgeon.

Dr. Walker, on Nov. 13, 1861, wrote to her brother and sister from the Indiana Hospital temporarily set up in the U. S. Patent Office in Washington, D. C.

It was Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman and George H. Thomas who recommended Dr. Walker for the Medal of Honor.

Her Sacrifice

In 1862, while serving with the Army of the Potomac under Gen. Ambrose Burnside, she wrote her family about the difficulties in obtaining supplies and how she had to tear up one of her "pretty night gowns" for bandages during the battle at Fredericksburg, Va.

During her service with the army in the West, Dr. Walker was captured by the Confederates in front of Chattanooga, Tenn. She was taken to Richmond, Virginia and held in the notorious Confederate Libby Prison.

Later exchanged, official army records show that she was the only woman prisoner exchanged for a man of similar rank.

Although peace had been declared between the North and South, the woman doctor's fight was not over. Long interested in the Women's Rights Movement, she became a militant advocate for dress reform. Her costume of striped trousers, frock coat and silk hat was even more controversial than the one she had worn before and during the war.

Fought Smoking

Dr. Walker was also an advocate of the abolition of tobacco. Her methods of fighting the addiction were forthright, to say the least. She would step up to a smoking male and knock the pipe or cigar from his mouth with a tightly rolled umbrella she carried especially for the purpose.

After her retirement from the Army, Dr. Walker worked for a time on a New York newspaper and then went to Washington, D. C. to practice medicine.

The Army never got its Medal of Honor back. Dr. Walker's reply to their request for the medal was: "Over my dead body."

Two years later on Feb. 21, 1919, the aged doctor, worn out from her war and peacetime fights and still suffering the after effects of an accident, died at 87, still clutching her precious Medal of Honor.

COLLATERAL READING VII
(ACTIVITY II)

OUR BUSY "CONGRESSWOMAN"*

There has never been any difficulty about selecting a name for boy babies. If those which had had a popular run in the family were being too heavily taxed, there was always "our Congressman," a whole or a part of whose name could be applied to the new member of the family of a constituent. But, until the election of the lady from Montana, girl babies have never enjoyed such a distinction. Mothers are quite alive to their new opportunity. Miss Jeannette Rankin had hardly taken her seat in Washington when the postman brought her the photograph of Miss Jeannette Rankin Smith, and, says Theodore Tiller in the New York *Sun*:

Since then Miss Rankin has received nearly one hundred letters informing her that the sweetest baby girl in the world was born last week and has been duly named Jeannette or Jeannette Rankin. In many instances a photograph is not sent by the fond mother. Thereupon Miss Rankin dictates a letter asking that a photograph be sent immediately, and when it arrives it is placed in the baby-gallery which the woman member of the House is displaying at her apartment.

While this has been one of the pleasantest of the new experiences of Miss Rankin, Congressional life has been just one wonderful thing after another. She finds three secretaries are necessary to handle her correspondence, and the big war-problems that have arisen on the floor of the House have caused her much perturbation, even since her first unfortunate experience in voting against the war-measure. *The Sun* says:

There has never been published an explanation of Miss Rankin of her vote against war, a vote dramatically cast at a House session that lasted past midnight and far into the morning hours.

"It is looked upon as a woman's vote rather than the vote as a Representative of Montana. Is the first woman in Congress a failure?" wrote a constituent a few days later. She received a number of letters of this tenor, and to them she replied:

"I am glad to have an expression of your opinion because I am glad at all times to know what the people think. In the campaign last fall, I judged the sentiment in Montana was overwhelmingly against war. Of course, the situation had changed when the vote was taken and yet the letters and telegrams that came to me from Montana were sixteen to one against the war-resolution. I tried to let Montana people know that whenever a question

* *Literary Digest*, LV (August 11, 1917): 41, 43-44.

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arose on which I had received no definite instructions from them I would vote in accordance with my highest ideals. If the letter from you had come before the vote as well as afterward it would have been appreciated."

Except for her actions on the night of the vote, that is Miss Rankin's explanation of her course. Her actions that night conveyed the real story of the fight within a woman's heart. She was nervous and deprest during the long roll-call. Altho in the hall, she did not respond on the first call of the roll. Evidently the battle still was going on within her. The clerk repeated her name twice before she voted on the last call, and then she broke precedent by interrupting the call to say:

"I want to stand by my country--but I can not vote for war."

Miss Rankin takes her job in the House seriously. She is a rather steady attendant upon the floor even when the debate lags. She reaches her office before ten o'clock, generally it is around nine, and begins work. There are other members of Congress who consider themselves early if they reach the office by the time the House convenes at noon.

Miss Rankin, so far as is known, is the only member of the House who keeps a visitors' book. Every visitor to her office, whether of high or low degree, is asked to write his or her name in a little leather-covered register. The lady from Montana intends to have an unusual souvenir of her public career when she leaves Congress.

Dr. David Starr Jordan, peace-advocate and lecturer, registered in Miss Rankin's little book recently. Right under his name appears that of Benny Leonard, lightweight-champion pugilist. Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, a woman lawyer, of Washington; Miss Katharine Anthony, the writer; Miss Helen Louise Johnson, head of the economics department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and many constituents and tourists have inscribed their names in the book since Miss Rankin came to Congress. Practically every suffrage worker, of course, visits Miss Rankin when on a visit to Washington. She is the sole feminine representative of "the cause" in Congress.

Miss Rankin's three secretaries are kept constantly busy answering letters and receiving callers. Her mail reaches approximately three hundred letters a day, and they touch on every subject from the business of the Nation to--well, as to matrimony, the writer in *The Sun* says:

It was ungallant to press the question, when no definite answer was forthcoming, as to whether Miss Rankin's correspondence has contained any proposals of marriage. The office force said they didn't recall any, and Miss Rankin blushed confusedly and gave no answer.

Miss Rankin recently purchased an automobile. She has found that a member of Congress must do considerable running around among the departments. One constituent wants information about

a civil-service examination; another wants to get into or out of the Army; still another wants a pardon obtained for some friend in the penitentiary, and a fourth demands action on a homestead entry. There are always errands to do for one's constituents, and since Montana has but two Representatives in the House, Congressman Evans and Miss Rankin, the demands of the State at large keep two members busy.

Miss Rankin succeeded Congressman Stout, who, it appears, had such a heavy demand from his constituents in Montana for garden-seed, which the Government distributes through its legislators, that he exhausted his supply. When Miss Rankin arrived she hadn't a seed or a bulb to her credit. So, when the folks back home began to write to their Congresswoman that they would like to do a little spring planting in the dooryard, she was in a quandry until some one suggested that she borrow from some city member whose constituents were not interested in gardens. With the aid of her secretaries, she succeeded in placing the loan. Of her secretaries, *The Sun* says:

Most members of Congress get along with one secretary. But no one secretary, male or female, could attend to the work in Miss Rankin's office, so she brought along Miss Florence Leech and Miss Belle Fleigelman, two Montana girls who had been with her in suffrage campaigns. In Washington she added another to the force, Miss Louise Puffer.

Miss Rankin, her mother, two nieces, a sister, and the Misses Leech and Fleigelman live together as one big family in an apartment in Washington. There is a spare room besides for feminine constituents who drop in from Montana now and then to learn about the progress of the suffrage movement.

In her first speech Miss Rankin showed little nervousness and she handled her subject capably. She is no stranger to the stump and campaigned as vigorously as any man in the preelection contest last fall. The lady from Montana is not of the militant-suffragist type; in fact, she is, gentle, modest, and a bit retiring, but she knows how to campaign and will descend into a mine or climb a mountain-peak to speak to the voters of her State. Her voice is pleasing.

Right here let the false report be nailed that Miss Rankin is red-headed. Her hair is a wavy brown, with here and there a prematurely gray strand showing. She has an attractive personality and makes friends easily. One wouldn't describe her as beautiful, neither can she be called plain. She has a trim, neat figure, a winning smile, twinkling blue-gray eyes, and a well-set head.

Miss Rankin dresses smartly, and altogether is prepossessing and is a better-looking woman than the average House member

is man. In other words, she averages well in deportment, looks, ability, energy, and strength of character.

The House today has about accustomed itself to the presence of a woman on the floor. There was considerable scurrying about at first; there was especially wonderment whether Miss Rankin would use the cloak-rooms, whether she would want to talk frequently, seek special privileges, or harangue the members on suffrage. She hasn't used the cloak-rooms, where male members sit, and tell stories, and smoke cigars; she hasn't pestered anybody about suffrage, and she has asked no special privileges.

No fault can be found with the demeanor of Miss Rankin on the floor. She is amiable, friendly, and an excellent conversationalist when members are talking in an undertone during a dull debate. She occupies a seat near the center aisle, well toward the rear of the hall. House seats are not now numbered, but Miss Rankin has one seat in one particular row that she prefers and sits there most of the time. Both Democrats and Republicans drop down beside her for a chat. Sometimes one of the callers invites Miss Rankin to lunch in the House restaurant; again, Miss Rankin will insist upon receiving the check and paying the bill. At other times she will eat alone or in company with one of her secretaries.

Miss Rankin is as matter-of-fact and natural in her daily associations about the House as any member of the male sex. She is respected and admired by all her colleagues, whether or not they agree with her politics and her votes, and this thing of having a woman member among more than four hundred male members isn't so bad as some of them feared.

Of course, there is opportunity for a legislative romance during the Sixty-fifth Congress--but that will be another story.

COLLATERAL READING VIII
(ACTIVITY II)

NOTES FROM THE CAPITAL*
The Lady from Montana

"Ladies and gentlemen of the House of Representatives." That is what it sounded like when Mr. Balfour opened his recent address to the House. What he meant, doubtless, was to throw in a slight pause after the "Ladies"--a deferential acknowledgment of the presence of the multitude of women in the galleries; but the pause, if any, was so nearly indistinguishable that an enthusiastic suffragist who sat near me whispered: "He recognizes Jeannette Rankin as embodying the whole sex!" And well he might; for in spite of her unusual position and surroundings, she remains the typical woman from top to toe. The top is especially prominent, crowned as it is with a mass of brown hair slightly streaked with gray, worn *à la Pompadour* in a fashion that emphasizes its abundance. The next most noticeable feature is the nose, which is large, straight in outline, and fairly dominates the face, particularly in profile. The chin stands out well, but is round, and reduced in conspicuousness by a fulness of the cheeks which extends down to the line of the jaw. Her small, rather slight figure, clad in well-fitting garments which rumor credits her with making with her own hands, adds to her thoroughly feminine effect. The V-shaped opening at the neck, and the use of lace and tulle wherever a man would use flat linen stiff with starch, differentiate her completely from the background against which she is projected in her daily work. Strangers visiting Congress look for her before asking to be shown Champ Clark and "Uncle Joe" Cannon--a distinction in itself; and almost invariably their first remark is one of surprise that she has nothing of the Amazon in her appearance. Her face is mobile, her motions are lithe, and her manner has all the vivacity comports with her obvious seriousness of purpose. Her voice has not, up to the hour of this writing, received a real test of effectiveness in a hall notorious for its bad acoustics when a debate is in full swing; but her responses on roll-call, while distinct enough for all practical needs, lack the ringing quality which arrests attention in this tumultuous body.

Next to her unmasculine make-up, what astonishes most new observers is the manner in which Miss Rankin is treated by the men among whom she is thrown. Not even the cowboys of her home State--a class who hide a rare strain of chivalry behind a rough exterior--could manifest more respect for her womanhood than these rough-and-tumble Congressmen. In any situation involving precedence, everybody stands aside for her to pass. During a session she is seldom or never alone: some man takes a seat beside her and falls into a whispered conversation, or she seeks out one whom she wishes to consult about a pending measure, and soon their heads are close together. In two respects at least she is setting an excellent example to her colleagues: in prompt and regular attendance, and in keeping track of what is going on. If amendments are coming in thick and fast,

**The Nation*, CIV (May 31, 1917): 667. Reprinted with permission.

as often happens when the bill under consideration is one which the House is ready to accept in spirit, but wishes to modify in form, she keeps a pad and pencil always in hand and conscientiously jots down the proposed changes in phraseology. From the present outlook it would not be surprising if her influence produced a real change in the behavior of the House in more ways than in mere personal gallantry, for the rudest fighters can hardly fail to take note of the presence of a woman among them, or to be reminded of the fact if momentarily they forget it.

Of course, it is unfortunate that Miss Rankin's first important vote on the floor should have been one in which she could not with an easy conscience voice the prevailing sentiment of her own district or of the country at large, for her attitude on the war issue can never be expunged from the record, however earnestly she may devote her energies hereafter to the national cause. Whether she was visibly and audibly overcome by her emotions--a question on which much stress is laid in certain quarters--we may leave the historians to decide among themselves. Male lawmakers have occasionally exhibited emotional weakness under equally trying conditions, without provoking invidious comments on the capacity of their sex as a whole. Miss Rankin having happened to be the first and only woman in Congress when the war crisis arose, it is far too soon to draw sweeping conclusions on the wisdom of our latest suffrage experiment. A pleasanter thing to remember is that, in a State which gave the Democratic Presidential ticket a vote 50 per cent larger than the Republican, she carried, as a Republican, one of the two representative districts by a plurality of more than six thousand, and with a campaign expenditure of less than seven hundred dollars.

Although sufficient mention has been made already, perhaps, of Miss Rankin's feminine appearance, it would be a pity to pass over, in this connection, her evident love of children and her attraction for them. Several members, trading on a traditional courtesy of the House, brought with them to the reception in honor of Balfour the young folk of their families, and some of these speedily made their way to the Lady from Montana and took possession of her. She had them sitting in her lap or snuggling against her while the formal meeting was in progress, and, when the handshaking procession formed, one or two clung to her. She smiles a good deal at all times, but seemed particularly beaming when chatting with her little friends. Nor would this thumbnail sketch be faithful to nature if it omitted to add that our fair young pioneer carries with her, while engaged in the business of lawmaking not less than in her other occupations, that characteristic emblem of her sex, the tiny handbag. It has never been my privilege to peep into it, but various indications suggest the guess that it contains the familiar equipment of purse and keys, mirror and handkerchief--and p-wd-r-p-ff!

TATTLER

COLLATERAL READING IX
(ACTIVITY II)

Editors' Note--Miss Rankin has written this article for *The Home Journal* through the courtesy of the Chicago Herald, by which she has been engaged to write exclusively a weekly letter.*

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With the outbreak of war the cry for economy has gone out to every woman in every kitchen in the country. But when all is said and done, the greatest and most effective instruments of economy are modern industry and modern machinery. The economies which were practiced by our grandmothers are not those which will be practiced by our granddaughters nor will they greatly avail us in the forthcoming years of scarcity. Clearly what we need to-day is to reach out for forward-looking and not backward-looking methods. The whole tendency of the present time is toward large-scale production and the effect of war will be to accelerate that tendency.

Women need to hold fast to this essential fact in the long campaign of conservation upon which we are now entering. With modern methods of production the individual housewife can not hope to compete. It is a doubtful service when we advise her to return to primitive housekeeping customs as a means of economy. For instance, it has been seriously suggested that home grinding of grains should be revived. This would be to turn hands of the kitchen clock backward and spoil the works. Milling has gone out of the home for economic reasons which are stronger to-day than ever before--reasons which the conditions of wartime have prodigiously enhanced.

The outstanding effects of the war in Europe have not been to revive soap making, candle making and home grinding in the individual household, but rather to do away with many domestic occupations of a much less primitive character. Overwhelming changes have taken place in the homes of French, German and English women. The first revolution to follow upon the war might even be said to have broken out in the woman's world rather than in the Russian Empire.

No small part in the "New World" of Europe's women has been played by the establishment of community feeding on an unprecedented scale. Public food kitchens, under government control, have long been established in France and Germany and are now under way in England. Undoubtedly, as time goes on and the need for economy grows more stringent in this country also we shall be forced to adopt, in our congested cities and industrial centers, the greater economy of cooperation instead of the lesser economy of saving.

Women should, therefore, prepare themselves not only for a thrifty administration within their own kitchens, but also for professional and paid work, which must be done in connection with public food kitchens, free school lunches and other forms of community feeding. Such food measures will have a double value in that they conserve the food supply and also the

* *Ladies' Home Journal*, XXXIV (August 1917): 17.

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strength and energy of our women.

Our program of frugality needs to be conceived in a constructive and not merely a negative spirit. Thrift must be intelligent; it must not degenerate into mere "skimping" and "going without." What is needed is not wholesale self-denial, but right utilization. Petty economics which cramp the soul should be avoided. This is the time to be generous with useful things, but frugal with the useless "accessories." Wholesome food, suitable clothing and uninterrupted education for the children--these are things in which we cannot afford to economize, or we shall pay the penalty in the lowered vitality and decreased earning power of the citizens of to-morrow.

We must have national frugality on a large scale if waste is to be prevented in such proportions as will really count in the conservation of our food supply. Such economies as the housekeepers of the country have it in their power to effect fall far short of the real and imperative need. Let us by all means urge the housewives not to waste a single slice of bread or an ounce of meat; but let us also assure them that they, in turn, shall be protected against the far more wanton waste of the food speculator.

The disheartened housekeeper should know that, while she is conscientiously measuring the food for her children, the apple harvest is not going to waste in the fields for lack of transportation facilities. She should know that it is possible to prevent the price of bread from soaring and that it will be done.

The mothers of the country should be assured that the grain which they save will not be made into alcoholic drinks, but into bread for the hungry children beyond the seas. Only the other day the Bishop of London protested in a great public gathering against the "solemn hypocrisy" of exhorting every poor housewife to save every crumb of bread and allowing hundreds of thousands of tons of foods to be turned into beer and spirits.

Carried along on the waves of a misguided patriotism have come subtle attempts to destroy the industrial standards of this country--standards which have been wrought with so much toil and strife and suffering during the last half century. Perhaps the most threatening of these attempts was that made by the Brown bills in the New York Legislature, proposing to abrogate the labor laws for the protection of women and children and to suspend the compulsory education laws.

The action of Governor Whitman in exercising his veto and the storm of commendation which greeted his action are significant, coming as they do at this time of emotional stress, and should be a warning to the false patriots who understand the laws of conversation as little as they understand the laws of psychology. Recent events in Russia should be a warning to America that those who begin by forcing the workers to accept ten-hour and twelve-hour standards may, by so doing, finally be faced by the necessity of granting the six-hour day.

Of grave import, also, is the threatened unemployment among women. In England the outbreak of war reduced the amount of unemployment of men, but vastly increased the unemployment of women. At best there will be a

dislocation of industry in this country, a widespread change of occupation, in which women familiar with one sort of work will be forced to take up unfamiliar work, perhaps in a strange environment. Salesgirls, discharged from the department stores, will not be eager to go into the munitions factories; the fear and the real dangers of migration will stand between many girls and the only available jobs. In this interim of unemployment much suffering may be endured and the great abyss of prostitution may receive unhopd-for victims, unless intelligent measures are adopted to prevent the well-known evils of unemployment.

Economies in public education, such as are now being threatened in many parts of the country, are spendthrift policies in disguise. We cannot afford to let the schools do less in wartime, for they must give us the trained minds and skilled workers who will be needed to cope with the problems of reconstruction and to insure the nation against decline in the critical period after the war. At present only seventy-five per cent of our children are actually in school. All of them should be there, especially those who will be left destitute by the absence of fathers who are fighting at the front. To accept public or private financial aid is more patriotic than to take a child out of school. The country needs trained minds more than it needs the money that must be paid in separation allowances and widows' pensions.

A timely suggestion has come from the Department of Education that our kindergartens, elementary and high schools should run to their fullest capacity throughout the entire year. As the fathers are withdrawn from the home and the mothers enter the industrial field home life must be inevitably disturbed and home care dangerously relaxed. To keep the schools open all the year would be one of the most effective methods of counter-acting the effects of much unavoidable domestic neglect.

It is easy to estimate the casualties of the battlefield, but the casualties of the home in wartime remain uncounted and unreported. We know that the war abroad has resulted in a heavily increased mortality of the very old and the very young. Life is sweet even to the oldest men and women, and that the hardships of war conditions may shorten their days is a prospect ineffably sad. But against the possibility of an increase of infant mortality we should not even seek to muster our philosophy.

The only mood in which women can or should face the years of conflict is one which declares that any increase in infant mortality must and shall be prevented. We must remember that the cost in child life is still not fully paid by the appalling number of babies who perish in wartime. Those who survive must continue to pay with their unfulfilled and uncompleted lives. Stamped in body and mind by long years of privation, they bear through later life the physical and mental scars of premature and long-persisting hardships. We should reflect that ten years of underfeeding for children who have not reached their teens or rounded out their physical development is far more diastrous in its consequences than for full-grown adults.

Similarly, a decade of mental stress and strain, the signs of which are already visible in the faces of those we pass in the street, must fall

heaviest upon the developing minds and characters of our adolescent boys and girls. The spirit of youth, that fragile and priceless heritage of humanity--what will be its fate in wartime? There are many still living who can recall the sad experience of a soul's awakening under the shadow of a great war.

But buoyancy, and not resignation, is the law of youth. Vital impulses will not down. In both England and Germany there have been vast increases in juvenile delinquency and crime since the war began. Ominous statistics from these foreign countries warn us of dangers which confront the boys and girls of our land. Must this tragedy be repeated in a country which has millions of organized women to prevent it? It is for the collective motherhood of America to say.

Other casualties will occur within the home--the sacrifice of women's lives in the service of maternity--for which we have no public roll of honor. Yet it is not a roll of honor for dead mothers which we need, but protection and security for the living. We are told by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor that "maternal deaths are largely preventable by proper care and skilled attendance." Is it not, then, a staggering indictment of public indifference that 15,000 deaths from maternal causes take place every year in this country?

Since 1900, the death rate from typhoid has been cut in half and the death rate from tuberculosis has been greatly reduced, while the death rate from childbirth and its consequences has remained stationary. During this period alone 250,000 mothers--a quarter of a million--have died from causes connected with childbirth. The total number of soldiers of both sides slain on the battlefields of the Civil War was not so great. And yet this terrible waste of maternal life is largely preventable. To let it go on is to acquiesce in the unnecessary sacrifice of thousands upon thousands of the mothers of to-morrow.

In England the effect of the war has been to focus public attention on the welfare of mothers and babies. The Notification of Births Act, of 1915, made birth registration uniform and obligatory throughout the country. This is the first and indispensable step in a program of maternity and infant protection. Every child should be registered, as well as both of its parents, whether they are married or unmarried. The next step should be the provision of maternity aid, similar to that already established in England. But certain mistakes of the English should be recalled in order that they may be avoided. In its first form the English maternity aid provided a cash benefit, to be paid to the husband, and it said nothing at all about nursing and medical attention.

The first mistake, that of paying the benefit to the husband instead of the wife, was soon corrected, mainly owing to the efforts of one of the large women's organizations known as the Women's Cooperative Guild. The second mistake, that of failing to supplement the cash benefit by nursing and medical attention, was not rectified until the hardships induced by the great war spurred the local Government Board to action. Public money has been appropriated for the purpose of establishing maternity clinics and

child-welfare centers all over the country, where mothers may go for free examination and advice.

While it is generally true that the welfare of the mother and that of the child are inseparable, the conditions which contribute to maternal and infant mortality are not always the same. Exhaustive studies have been made in England during the war years, which show that, while the death rate of infants tends to run highest in congested city districts, the death rate of the mothers mounts alarmingly in such rural and mining districts as are found in Wales. The explanation is not far to seek. It lies in the lack of obstetrical aid for the women in the farming and mining districts.

If such fatal conditions exist in Wales, what must they be like when magnified, as they are, to the scale of one of our own great Western states? The vastness of the distance between the mother and the nearest doctor calls for the establishment of maternity hospitals in every county seat, combined with a rural nursing service as broadcast as the rural postal service.

There are many stories, too harrowing to tell and too inhumane for belief, of the dire need of these American mothers. But one unforgettable picture I must recall. It is that of a dry-land farm and a solitary cabin in the darkness. The cabin door stands open and within the doctor is at work by the light of a lantern held by the hired man. And over the doorsill there trickles a thin, dark stream. It is the sacrificial blood of the life bringer within; symbol of the blood of all the mothers, poured out that human life might be--that children might laugh in the world, that youth might hope and that men and women might live to seek courage and happiness, wisdom and love.

To the woman who had just driven up after a long night ride in the company of the worried husband dispatched for help, that picture will always say more than the most inspired words could say of the terrible need for maternity protection in this country; of the struggle to make existence possible; and of the precautions we must take to make impossible in the future the tragic futility of giving life only to be destroyed.

COLLATERAL READING X
(ACTIVITY II)

GIRLS WHO WOULD ENTER RED CROSS SERVICE FOR OVERSEAS DUTY
MUST FIRST MEET SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS*

The Red Cross instruction department has been besieged with applicants for foreign service, but there seems to be a general misunderstanding about the necessary qualifications, according to the secretary, Mrs. J. G. Wright, who has just received the following list of requirements from the Red Cross headquarters:

GENERAL REQUIREMENTS.

All applicants--

1. Must have robust health and must be examined by a physician designated by the Red Cross, who will certify that they are physically and nervously fit to bear the strain of foreign service.
2. Must sign an enlistment contract for a minimum term of six months in case they are volunteers and of twelve in case of those whose transportation and expenses are paid by the Red Cross. This contract provides for their return to the United States if their services are unsatisfactory or are no longer needed.
3. Must be of good character, willing to obey orders and be loyal to the organization. Seriousness of purpose and dignity of deportment are required.
4. Must not have a husband, son, brother or father in the United States service either here or abroad, as the government declines to issue passports to such persons.
5. Must be free from all German or Austrian connections, by birth and marriage. German or Austrian parentage even though naturalized, will bar a candidate.
6. Must be inoculated against typhoid and paratyphoid and vaccinated for smallpox.
7. Personal interview is necessary before an applicant can be accepted.

SOCIAL SERVICE.

Applicants for social Service--

1. Must be between 28 and 50 years of age.
2. Must have had training in social service or the equivalent in experience.
3. Must speak French well.
4. Must give names of three American citizens, not relatives, one a woman.
5. Must wear uniform on duty.

Volunteers are desired to cover expenses and a small salary is sometimes paid to cover expenses. The Red Cross feels that the services of those who join are offered in the nature of a voluntary contribution to its work.

* *Fort Worth Record*, July 18, 1918, p. 6.

CANTEEN WORK.

Applicants for canteen service--

1. Must be between 25 and 40 years of age.
2. Must speak French well. (Not required for the present unit.)
3. Must be able to meet expenses of living and transportation. These expenses are estimated at the present to amount to \$1,600 to \$1,800 for six months and \$2,000 for one year. This is naturally subject to variation, according to the cost of living in France, Belgium and Italy.
4. Must give the names of three references of American citizens, one a woman and none relatives.
5. Must wear uniform on duty.

CLERICAL SERVICE.

Applicants for clerical service--

1. Must be between the ages of 25 and 40 years of age.
2. Must give the names of references from three American citizens, one a woman.
3. Must have a certificate of professional efficiency and a test will be given which should be forwarded with credentials.
4. A knowledge of French is desirable but not essential.

Applicants for nursing service--

Must be 25 to 35 years of age.

Pass a physical examination.

Nurses aids must have passed examination of elementary hygiene and home care of the sick.

French is not essential but desirable.

GAZETTE[®]

NEWS

OVER HERE: THE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY*



(Above) We had just finished pitching the hay in the barn. (Below, right) Here's one of the uniforms we wore.

In April, 1918, when I was teaching in the Normal School of Physical Education at Temple College in Philadelphia, we were told that any student who was interested in joining the Women's Land Army, and whose grades were satisfactory, could be excused from classes for the rest of the term and receive full credit. Because of their training, my students were exceptionally strong and healthy, and a number from each class joined the "Farmerettes." After commencement in June, I hustled up to join members of my youngest class who had been sent to a unit in Whitford, Pennsylvania.

As my train pulled into the station, I saw my students in a freight car on the siding, shoveling gravel out of the car. They waved to me. It seemed a strange sort of farm work, but perhaps some of the area farmers needed that gravel.

We had a good-size house, and a barracks along one side of the barn for Army cots for the sleeping "Farmerettes." A long, narrow screened-in porch against the back of the house was our dining room. We had showers in the rear. Our costumes consisted of middy blouses and the old-time, long, full

bloomers, or divided skirts. We worked alongside older men on the farms. The younger ones had all gone off to war.

Every morning we were trucked to the various farms where we worked. As I remember, one of our first assignments was to crawl through a cornfield, on our hands and knees, to free each hill of corn from the wild morning-glory vines that covered the corn like a tent. Try that sometime; you'll know how strenuous farming can be.

In those days there were no tractors; all vehicles were horse-drawn. We cut hay, raked it into haystacks, pitched those stacks into hay wagons that carried the hay to the barn, and then pitched it up into the hayloft. We used all the hand tools—rack, hoe, shovel, cultivator—as well as the horse-drawn ones. One day, another woman and I were pitted against male teenagers to see who could hoe a row of corn in the shortest time. Yes—we won!

Once, about eight of us were assigned to harvest fields of soybeans. Well, toward the late afternoon, the chaff from the beans began to invade our nostrils. We tied wet handkerchiefs across our faces. When the soybeans were

brought to the barn, some of us pitched them up into the hay-mow; where others distributed them around evenly. Suddenly we missed one of our number; we discovered she had been covered with the beans and had fainted. Soon we revived her without any ill effects.

When we finally went back to our lodge at seven o'clock, we were truly uncomfortable. The chaff had blown inside our clothes and stuck to our perspiring skin. I blessed the person who had invented the shower, for it was the most welcome thing that could have happened to us that night.

Yes, it was fun, and I believe we really contributed quite a bit to the farms of Chester County. We were written up in the rotogravure section of the Philadelphia Sunday paper in 1918. The paper also pictured some Vassar students who were active on the Women's Land Army in Massachusetts. Except for four of my students with whom I've talked recently, I have yet to contact a single person who remembers the Women's Land Army.

—Anita Voorhees

Editors' Note: Ms. will be happy to forward mail to Anita Voorhees from other former "Farmerettes."



COLLATERAL READING XII

(ACTIVITY II)

Wartime Employment of Women*

Most of the women munition workers were employed in machine shops, which formed one of the principal fields for the substitution of women for men. Women entered munition plants in New England and the Middle States, automobile factories in Detroit, and railway repair shops throughout the country. Besides inspection and assembling of small metal parts, they were used on many of the lighter machines, such as small drill presses, milling machines, and lathes. Women made shells in the United States as well as in England. Employers were generally favorably impressed by the output and teachableness of the women, and paid them the same piece-work rate as men.

Another field in which a good many women replaced men was the transportation industry. Of the railroads the Pennsylvania was a pioneer in increasing the employment of women. For a time women were used rather indiscriminately, in section gangs and the loading of heavy freight, for instance, as well as in ticket-selling and other more suitable work. The creation of a "Women's Service Section" in the Railroad Administration gave promise of a more careful policy. In December, 1918, the manager of the section stated that between January and October of that year the number of women employed by steam railroads had increased from 60,000 to 100,000. The section had secured the transfer of women section hands, freight truckers, and train crew callers to other lines of work.

Much discussion centered around the woman streetcar conductor, who appeared in New York, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, and several other large cities. Was she, or was she not, in a fit place for a woman? After investigation of the situation in New York the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that a streetcar was one of the last places where women should be forced to work. The bureau pointed out that hours were excessive and night work common, that the nervous strain was great, and accommodations for women in the car-barns not always adequate. In settling a streetcar dispute in Cleveland the Department of Labor ruled that the company must cease employing women conductors after November 1. Complaints caused them to postpone putting this ruling into effect until March, 1919, however. Strict regulation of employment conditions for women conductors was made by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, which forbade their working at night or in rush hours.

The "work or fight" order of the provost marshal general also caused women to be substituted for men in certain cases. In May, 1918, he ruled that men of draft age could not secure deferred classification if they were employed in a number of occupations, including work as passenger elevator operators, ushers in theaters, clerks in mercantile establishments, waiters, doormen, and attendants. The result was a considerable shifting of women into such places. In the professions, opportunities for women were considerably enlarged. Better opportunities in business and banking and as draftsmen, more openings for women in industrial laboratories, and in civil service, both national and local, were among the changes. A fair number of women took up farm work, also, during the summer of 1918, the "Land Army" with its "units" supplying most of this demand.

* Margaret Hobbs, *American Legislation Labor Review*, VIII (September 1918): 334-335.

COLLATERAL READING XIII

(ACTIVITY III)

ARMS AND THE WOMEN*

by Beulah Amidon

From now on, for the duration, the women of America will be replacing millions of men at jobs in war production and civilian services. Miss Amidon reports what this will mean in terms of the war effort, of women's status, and of the future.

STAND AT A FACTORY GATE, "SOMEWHERE IN NEW ENGLAND." In the sunny evening of a day on "war time," you will see the second shift stream into the plant, and, a little later, the first shift come pouring out. The number of girls, young wives, middle-aged women among them is surprisingly large. They seem to take for granted their presence in the ranks of "Nelson's soldiers," and to be taken for granted by their fellow workers.

Go into the plant, and you will see men and women side by side on the assembly line, in lunchrooms, checking tools and materials. Nothing, perhaps, so clearly marks the mounting level of the nation's production drive as the sight of women factory workers in their coveralls, their heavy work shoes and tight-fitting mechanics caps. They tend machines, bag powder, fill shells, inspect parts, replace men called into service, answer the demand for more and more workers in the lines behind the lines, to turn out planes, tanks, guns, ammunition, uniforms, warships, for the fighters of the United States.

In the final quarter of 1941, after Pearl Harbor wiped out "business as usual" and set new sights for industry, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that there were 5,300,000 workers in war production. For the first quarter of 1942, the BLS estimate stood at 7,500,000. By December 1, that total must be doubled if the nation is to achieve its production goal.

The problem of a labor supply fifteen million strong has four aspects: the men needed for the armed forces; the workers needed for war production; the workers needed for essential civilian production; the workers needed on the land.

As men are drawn off by the army and the navy, the greatest single pool of labor open to industry and agriculture is the reserve of woman power. This article will not seek to deal with the general question of labor supply, nor will it attempt an account of the volunteer services in the war effort. It is a progress report on the available number and the skills of actual and potential women workers in the population, the use being made of them today, the opportunities for recruitment and training.

The Women Now at Work

THE NUMBER OF WOMEN NOW IN WAR PRODUCTION GIVES no indication of the tremendous shift in employment that is taking place. The first great demand for women was not from the plants busy retooling and reorganization for war production, but from the occupations out of which men were pouring into the armed forces and into defense industry. In these civilian occupations the employment of women

* *Survey Graphic*, XXXI (May 1942): 244-248, 271.

is likely to increase faster in the months ahead than in war industry itself, and before the summer is over most American communities probably will see mounting numbers of women "taking over" as bus drivers, postal clerks, telegraph messengers, elevator operators, store clerks, newspaper reporters, filling station attendants, busboys and waiters, soda jerkers, shipping clerks, bank messengers, and in many other posts customarily filled by boys and men.

So far, war industry has made use of women largely in jobs that can be considered "women's work." This means repetitive tasks involving the manipulation of small and light materials, and requiring only a short training period. The heavy, complex tasks of war production in this country are still to a large extent viewed as "men's work." Thus women are to be found stitching parachutes, uniforms, airplane wings; assembling delicate mechanisms; serving as inspectors of parts and finished products; "bagging" powder; performing light, simple machine operations. But the old boundaries between "men's work" and "women's work" are breaking down. Not only is industry experimenting with women as welders, riveters, crane operators, assembly line workers; it is recognizing that with automatic hoists the old concepts of "heavy" work are losing much of their meaning.

In an effort to indicate how many and how varied are the new openings suitable for women, the U. S. Employment Service has been analyzing all jobs occurring in war industries. At present, 623 essential occupations have been studied. Women are employed in only twenty-seven of these. A study of the duties performed by workers in the remaining occupations indicates that 251 are wholly suitable for women, with another group calling only for some rearrangement of equipment and process.

These facts are more striking when forecasts by war contractors are considered. From September 1941 to February 1942, there were 315,000 job openings reported in the list of essential occupations. Of these, fewer than 20,000 openings were in occupations in which women are now employed. But 115,000 were reported in occupations considered suitable for women, 110,000 in occupations partially suitable.

In some war industries, women already make up a substantial percentage of the total number of workers employed. For example, the U.S. Department of Labor, in a survey of munitions plants, found that more than 30 percent of the workers in small arms manufacture are women; in shell and bomb loading plants, the figures run from 33 to 42 percent; in bag loading, from 30 to 48 percent. In aircraft manufacture fewer than 2 percent of the total labor force are women, though in West Coast plants the proportion of women on the assembly lines runs much higher.

The Woman Power Resources Available

VARIOUS PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR THE REGISTRATION OF American women, and even for their conscription for war service. Polls of public opinion indicate that a substantial proportion of the women themselves would welcome registration, and an assigned place in the war effort. Government spokesmen, however, hold that the time is not ripe for such a move until all employable unemployed men are at work, and until the task of retooling industry is farther along.

In this country, it is estimated that, if war production goals are to be reached and maintained, there must be an increase in the number of women in war industry from the present half million to three million by the end of 1942; and to six million by the end of 1943. Some of these women will be recruited from among young girls finishing school and college, and housewives not now in the labor market.

Meanwhile, many are being shifted from civilian to war occupations. The change over to war production in the United States has caused the layoff of some 2,000 women silk workers in Scranton, Pa.; 1,000 corset makers in Cortland, N.Y.; about 300 women by a plant making automobile upholstery in Roxboro, N.C.; 270 rubber workers in Ashland, Ohio; 500 aluminum workers in Wisconsin; 300 women making refrigerator parts in Fort Clinton, Ohio; 700 women employed by a fountain pen maker in Wisconsin. The list could go on and on. All these are women with skill and experience in the handling of tools, in safety practices, in the teamwork of production. Relatively little retraining is required to shift them over to war work.

Much larger, however, is the pool of inexperienced girls, and of housewives who have never worked in industry, or whose skills have become rusty or obsolete in the years since they left the labor market.

The demands of war industry require of all workers--men and women--new types of training and experience. The chief sources of training are the defense training program of the public vocational schools and certain technical schools and colleges; the work projects of the National Youth Administration; and, first and last, "training on the job" by industry itself.

Wages and Hours

WOMEN ARE APPLYING FOR TRAINING AND FOR JOBS in war industry because they want to play a part in the fight for freedom. They would be less than human, however, if they were not attracted by the wages offered war workers today. Traditionally, work that is rewarded in part by "the satisfaction of service" has been held out to women. But as men are called into the armed forces, and as the speed of war production picks up, there are increasing demands for "Women--18 to 55 years of age--beginners' rates, 72 cents an hour--opportunity for rapid advancement. . ." It is not alone that such jobs at such wages make it increasingly difficult to recruit women as nurses' auxiliaries, domestic helpers, hospital and fresh air camp employes, and in similar fields of "women's work." There are other lures in war industry; hours are fixed, uniforms in many plants are supplied and laundered, often transportation is provided, the job has "status," and there is the sense of participation in the war effort.

"That means a lot," a woman in one New England plant pointed out to me. "I used to work in a hospital--ten hours a day for \$1.95, buy your own uniforms and keep them laundered, and take everybody's bad temper. My buddy here used to be a waitress. Those two girls over there were in housework. That red-head was in the five-and-ten. Are we getting a kick out of war jobs!"

IF YOU GO INTO THE FARMING COMMUNITIES, YOU FIND THAT labor shortage is even now a present fact. Selective Service and high factory wages are draining the farm country of manpower. The auto plants of Michigan, the plane plants in New England, the arsenals and navy yards are beginning to clamor for girls and women "from

the back country," "from upstate," "off the land." At the same time, the war effort demands increased production of grain, meat, milk, vegetables, fruit.

This is back of the cry for a "women's land army." Rural communities talk uneasily about the possibility of "trading work" during haying and harvest. Farm Security and the Employment Service are organizing "mobile camps" of workers to follow fruit and vegetable crops. But it is clear that increasing responsibilities for the nation's food supply will rest on girls and women, not at some problematical future time, but this season--now.

In Britain, as Sir Gerald Campbell, British Minister at Washington, recently said: "Whoever does the work, 'the rate for the job' will be paid. Where the women who enter industry are fully qualified to perform men's work they are paid at the men's rate, and the same applies to bonuses. In the case of women not fully qualified, special rules apply until the women reach the men's standard, when full men's rates are paid." This rule, laid down in a comprehensive union-employer agreement covering the employment of women machinists, "is gradually extending to all other occupations by agreement with the men's trade unions."

In general, the principle of equal pay for equal work is recognized in American war industry, though in many plants "men's jobs" are simplified and subdivided before being turned over to women, with a corresponding "adjustment" of wage scales. That men are aware of the threat to wage levels in this procedure is made clear by various union comments on the employment of women in war industry. Thus George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) recently stated:

While the technical instructors will give the prospective women workers their mechanical training, there is another phase of the situation which only the union can take care of. This is to see that the women join the union as soon as they get their jobs. . . . Most of the newly employed workers (in the auto plants) will come into the shops where the UAW-CIO has already lifted wages to a high level, introduced good working conditions, and eliminated favoritism and discrimination of all sorts. They should be brought to realize that the excellent wages and improved shop conditions . . . were the result of hard work and many battles by the union. . . . It is really essential for the union to tackle this job of training women workers.

Employers, as well as unions, see special problems in the prospect of large scale employment of women, problems as diverse as prejudices, wash rooms, protective state laws, and the care of young children.

There is undoubtedly long standing prejudice against women workers in many industries and plants. Some employers are in the habit of employing only men, and they cling to that habit. Other employers do not yet face realistically the problem of labor supply created by expanding production and Selective Service. They forget the use made of women in the last war in railroad yards, foundries, steel plants, as road menders, tractor operators, and continue to send into the public employment office orders beginning "Men only. . . ." This same attitude frequently has barred women from vocational schools and from in-plant training looking to their upgrading as skilled workers and supervisors. In many communities this attitude is yielding to the pressure of need.

Thus prejudices are going down in the aircraft industry, in the navy yards, in steel, in weather forecasting, in research laboratories, in drafting rooms. As one employment office head put it: "Employers have been choosers for ten years. Now they are beginning to take what they can get. A lot of them begin to realize how little difference there is between men and women on the job, given equal training and experience."

IN INDUSTRY AND IN AGRICULTURE THERE ARE URGENT JOBS FOR women to do. Households and communities are facing complex readjustments as the nation mobilizes for a long, grim war. We are beginning to realize what it means today, what it will mean next week, next month, next winter, to equip the new army and navy, and to mass behind the fighting forces the new production in agriculture and industry. To play their full part, women must have opportunity for training, placement, and advancement based on ability, and equal pay for equal work.

I like to think of a girl I met on a Connecticut bus a fortnight ago--a young woman in blue denim, the tops of her slacks buckled snugly around her work shoes, heavy gloves at her belt, a dinner pail beside her. She said she used to type and file in the office of a private school for girls. Now she helps wire fighting planes--eight hours a day, six days a week, on rotating shifts that mean night work two months out of three. She spoke with pride of "our plant," "our ships." "It's a job," she said, "a real job--for the duration."

COLLATERAL READING XIV
(ACTIVITY III)

What about the Women? *

Do they want to keep
their factory jobs
when the war is over?
Or is their postwar
plan a home?

"Do you plan to stop working after the war?" was the question asked in the huge cross-country cross section of women war workers.

"Yes," said 44%. Yes, they plan to stop work when the emergency is over.

"No," said 47%. And 87% had worked before 1941. Three quarters of these women who do not plan to stop work are solely self-supporting.

"I don't know," said only 9%. War uncertainty may enter here. Will their husbands, their sons, their lovers return to them safe, strong and able?

A picture of American womanhood, clear and strikingly significant, emerges from this important *Journal* survey.

If the American woman can find a man she wants to marry, who can support her, a job fades into insignificance beside the vital business of staying at home and raising a family--three children is the ideal number, she thinks.

However, if she doesn't marry, or the man she marries cannot support her and her children adequately, then she intends to fall into no position of helpless feminine dependency. She intends to use her new-found skills, her hard-won position, to earn money. She sees no reason to give up her job to a man, if she needs it equally. And she is strongly convinced that if she does a man's work she should have a man's pay.

Most of these women who expect to give up their jobs as soon as the war is over are married, have reached their middle thirties, have weekly family income of \$60 or more (68% are married, 49% are thirty-five or older, 55% have \$60 or more weekly family income).

* Neil Giles, *Ladies' Home Journal*, LXI (June 1944): 22-23, 157-159, 161.

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But among those who expect to continue working, most are unmarried, young and have a weekly family income of less than \$60. (Only 23% are married, 50% are thirty-four or younger, 54% have less than \$60 weekly family income.)

Clearly reflecting a postwar world in which more and more women will, of necessity, be self-supporting, were the answers to a second question.

"If there aren't enough jobs to go around after the war, should men be given job preference over women who have no other means of support?"

To this only a third of the women altruistically answered "Yes," while a realistic, pocketbook-minded majority said "No." One of them, a San Diego worker, commented, "A single woman is just as disabled as a soldier."

Yes--32%; No--60%; Didn't know--8%

It is the unmarried, logically enough, who show a starry-eyed pro-man leaning; the matrons feel more strongly that men and women have an equal right to jobs when need calls. (Unmarried: 38% yes, 54% No. Married: 29% Yes, 62% No.)

One fascinating fact emerges with crystal clarity. Women think having a job is more fun than staying at home. Asked if they enjoyed working more than they enjoyed staying at home, 79% said "Yes." And, of these, 70% were married women with children!

Having a job is more fun than staying at home. Sociologists could play around with that answer. Is it that small houses with laborsaving devices make the role of housekeeper less creative, hence less interesting? Is it that small families and fewer children make the home less a social center than it used to be and women are bored and craving social contacts? Or is this a result of the barrage of publicity urging women to "escape from the *drudgery* of housework--do something *interesting*?" And yet, in spite of the fact that 79% think jobs are more enjoyable than staying at home, 44% intend to go home when the war is over--and 70% (an overwhelming majority) said they would give up their jobs *willingly* if they had to, in order to get married. What explains this seeming inconsistency? Jobs are more enjoyable, but homes are more important. Is it duty, is it a deep biological urge; is it the knowledge that housekeeping and dishwashing and baby feeding, though often pretty humdrum, are essential and only women will do these tasks?

How all these experiences--on the assembly line, in the machine shop, on inspection jobs--have affected the women themselves as well as their families and homes, is indicated by further results of the *Journal's* survey.

Women agree, but by a slim majority, that if a woman who is working makes more money than the man she wants to marry, she should give up her job. Nearly half say, "Keep the job." (40%--give up the job; 37%--keep it; 23%--don't know.)

Asked if they would rather stay home and care for their children than to turn them over to a day nursery, 75% said a rousing "Yes."

"What should a woman do who has a job and makes more money than the man she wants to marry? Should she give up her job or keep it?"

The "give-it-ups" overbalanced the "keep-its" by a delicate margin. "No man wants his wife making more money than he does," said a worker speaking for those in favor of giving up the job for the man. "Keep it!" said a sixty-six-year-old grandmother who drives a mean rivet in San Diego, adding: "When I married my man I had to buy him a clean collar." A thirty-four-year-old, married with no children, thought: "Keep it but don't gloat over it."

40%--Give it up.

37%--Keep it.

"Does working make you more anxious to spend off hours getting out for pleasure or staying at home?"

"Home is the only place these days," a Chicago mother of nine answered for the majority of mothers. "It's my duty to be home with my family in the evenings and on Sunday." But a professional woman in a Richmond, Virginia, factory for the duration disagreed. "I have to get out for recreation. Working in a factory makes me dull." This thirty-eight-year-old college graduate, single, has been a college professor for the past ten years, and for a time a museum director. "But, as a casting worker in a factory, I'm making the top salary of my life," she said. Just for the record, 90% of the women in war plants are making more money in their present jobs than they have ever made before.

"Should women receive the same rate of pay as men for the same job?"

The yes was almost unanimous, and this includes the army of new workers whose men have always been the only wage earners. "Women should receive man's pay for man's work," stated a mother of four, holding down her first factory job in New Haven. "Women would be a lot more satisfied in industry if they were paid the same wage as men for the same job," said a woman who had been a factory worker for seven years.

The answers brought out some clear-eyed views on the subject of women in industry. A forty-seven-year-old widow, totally blind, observed, "A man wouldn't feel this insignificant job of mine was important enough. I roll paper nozzles that fit on the end of an air hose to pick lint off glass. But this is a special glass made in layers and used in planes. A speck of lint on a layer as it is put together might make a defect that would cost a pilot's life. I think my job is very important."

Yes--90%

No---10%

"In your own case, does working make your life more enjoyable or less enjoyable than staying at home?"

The big majority of women in industry said a hearty yes, that working made their lives more enjoyable. Sociability and its stimulus of new activities

apparently decided them. "Before this it was just stay home all the time," said a Middle Westerner who had never worked before. She'd been married nineteen years. Speaking for most, another commented, "I don't like to stay home alone."

"Yes"--79% of all women in war plants.
70% of married women with children.
83% of married women with no children.
85% of single girls.

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO



ROSIE

THE RIVETER? *

"WOMEN ARE WORKING ONLY TO WIN THE WAR. THEY WILL LOOK ON THIS PERIOD AS AN INTERLUDE, JUST AS THEIR MEN WHO HAVE BEEN CALLED TO SERVICE WILL CONSIDER MILITARY DUTIES AS AN INTERLUDE. THE WOMEN ARE LIKE CINCINNATUS WHO LEFT HIS PLOW TO SAVE ROME AND THEN RETURNED TO HIS PLOW."

—Betty Allie, Michigan state workmen's compensation official, 1943

BY SHEILA TOBIAS AND LISA ANDERSON

During World War II, for the second time in the 20th century, due to the absence of men and the insatiable appetite of a war machine, workers were so needed that women moved into the plum, unionized, highly paid jobs in manufacturing. For example, in Detroit, characterized as a "man-employing, one-industry city," the increase in female workers was 112 percent. In the public mind, Rosie the Riveter—the symbolic female war worker—was a contented, middle-class housewife who entered the work force between 1942 and 1944 for patriotic reasons only and who left it after the war to return to nonpaid employment at home.

The facts show otherwise. In reality, Rosie worked before the war, but at a low-paying, insecure job in a service occupation (as waitress, laundress, or clerk); she moved into factory work because of the demand, good pay, seniority rights, union benefits, and advancement opportunities.

It is true she left the plant after the war, but she did not retire voluntarily. In fact, she did not retire at all, but was forced back, at best, to the restaurant, laundry, or small shop from which she had escaped, and at worst, onto unemployment compensation or welfare.

To be sure, the total number of women working during the war increased by 3 million (to 18 million) and climbed proportionately from one in four (in 1941) to one in three (in 1944).

As a result of this influx and the switching of women already working to jobs in manufacturing, union membership among females went up. In response to the needs and interests of the 350,000 new members they had enrolled, the United Auto Workers, a union belonging to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), formed the UAW Women's Bureau in 1944 and initiated a regular column entitled "Sister Sue" in the union newspaper, *Ammunition*. The UAW Women's Bureau, together with the union's education and research departments, issued an array of special reports and pamphlets which provide many of the available

statistics about the wartime workingwoman.

Despite the work done by the UAW Women's Bureau, most of the widely circulated statements about the temporary status of women's industrial involvement were based not on systematic surveys, but on assumptions about women's "nature."

Typical was the assumption voiced by Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor, that at the close of the war women would return "to the homes they left." Others, like Frederick Crawford, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, were not so sure women would willingly return to the home, though he thought they should. He propounded that the "home is the basic American unit," and that "homemakers are essential to the morale and well-being of male workers and as a first-line prevention against juvenile delinquency."

Union leaders, too, hoped that women would retire voluntarily in order to avoid competition between war workers and returning veterans. (There was at least one "Back to Mamma" club founded in the late years of the war with the express purpose of persuading women to quit.) But a 1944 UAW survey reported that fully 85 percent of the women then working wanted to continue after the war. That meant of the 350,000 new female UAW workers, 300,000 wanted to go on working in manufacturing. R. J. Thomas, UAW's president, was aware that results of the study would "shatter the preconceived ideas of certain industrialists and 'experts' who think the majority of women workers will want to leave the labor market."

A Department of Labor Women's Bureau survey in 1944 also showed that when asked about postwar plans, an average of 80 percent of the women who had been employed before Pearl Harbor intended to continue working. Among the women who had been in school prior to 1941, 75 percent intended to continue working, while more than 50 percent of the former homemakers had similar plans.

Surely income was the primary motive for working, although many people thought that the only reason a woman went to work was for pin money. The realization that women, married or not, had financial responsibilities was slow in coming (perhaps it is still coming). Before the war, 25.3 percent of American women were working full time despite discrimination, lower rates of pay, and segregated job classifications.

"Women, like men, work because their earnings are needed to support themselves and their families and to meet home expenses. . . . Single women support themselves and aged parents. . . . Married women support themselves and dependents," reported the New York State Division of Industrial Relations in 1946. Also, of the 1,114 women workers surveyed in cooperation with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, from 1944 to 1946, 20 percent were their family's only contributing wage earners, and in 50 percent of the households, the women's earnings were the main source of income for relatives living elsewhere. More than 80 percent of the group planned to con-

tinue working, predominantly for financial reasons.

Toward the end of World War II, in anticipation of the problems of converting from a war- to a peace-time economy, a number of conferences were held around the country. In 1944, the UAW Women's Bureau made resolutions on four issues which they considered crucial to protect female employees from postwar dislocation and discrimination: equal pay for equal work; postwar reemployment, wages, seniority. Eleanor Roosevelt summed up the spirit of that meeting by saying she hoped women would not become "expendable home-front soldiers."

Unfortunately the resolutions were impotent. In 1945 and 1946, layoffs of women workers came suddenly and without explanation. It must have been a shock to high wage earners to find themselves without employment. In January, 1946, New York Times reporter Lucy Greenbaum wrote, "The courtship of women workers has ended. . . . Four million fewer women were working than had worked at the peak." In New York State alone, women were down from 33 percent of the work force to the prewar level of 25 percent.

In industry, the percentages of women who were laid off were staggering:

Aluminum Company of Ames	50%
Ford Motor Company (at Willow Run)	81%
The Hoover Company	84%
American Brake and Block	90%
Metal Stamping Job Shop	98%
American Leather Products	100%
Asbestos Manufacturing Company	100%
Baker Roulard Company	100%

After the war, women were forced to return to "women's jobs," and at the Hudson Car Company, for example, their hourly wage rate was rolled back from more than \$1 to 90 cents. This pattern existed throughout industry during the postwar years.

Rationalizations flew thick and fast. From the Oliver Company in Springfield, Ohio, where anti-aircraft 40 mm. shells had been manufactured, came a report to UAW headquarters that 50 percent of the male employees who had been taken off war work had been placed in other jobs in the plant. "There are jobs in this plant at the present time," it stated, "but they are not suitable for female workers. The work is too heavy ["heavy" meaning the weight of parts—women worked on wiring, switches, small parts; chassis, though they never had to be lifted, were assembled by men]. The girls may find work in this area, but naturally, it will have to be at lower wages, as most plants seem to be asking for male workers."

Cutbacks began as early as August, 1944. The UAW revealed that in aircraft parts plants, for example, although women amounted to 42.2 percent of the total working population, they constituted 60.2 percent of the workers laid off. In the aircraft engine plants, women were 39.2 percent of the workers and 89 percent of the layoffs. In the truck and agriculture implements industry, women were 13.1 percent of the work force, but they were 51.6 percent of the layoffs.

COULD A WOMAN WHO HAD BEEN WORKING AT A "MAN'S JOB" BE BUMPED OFF THAT JOB AT THE END OF THE WAR SIMPLY BECAUSE IT WAS CLASSIFIED AS A MALE JOB?

Throughout industry, this was a typical series of events: women were the first to be laid off; job referrals were not as available to them; and when rehiring took place, the women found their seniority ignored. In some instances, unemployment compensation was even denied a woman if she appeared unwilling to accept less than her wartime wages in a new job.

As if to substantiate the idea that women workers were happy to be laid off, the newspapers asserted that women were looking forward to their unemployment compensation. The May 4, 1945, *Wall Street Journal* headlined: LAID-OFF WILLOW

Women's employment in Detroit area manufacturing before, during, and after World War II:

YEAR	WOMEN IN MANUFACTURING
1940	44,064
1942	71,000
1943 November	259,000
1945 after V-E Day	124,000
1945 after V-J Day	66,900
1946 February	63,300

RUN WORKERS CHOOSY ABOUT NEW JOBS. SOME LOAFING. THEY COUNT ON UNEMPLOYMENT PAY. HALF THE WOMEN THROUGH WITH WAR WORK. The article concluded, "Besides the workers who had had all the war plant work they want and the others who feel the urge for a little vacation before they take on a new job, there are a good many of those signifying a desire for immediate employment who have been turning up their noses at jobs offered them." The article never mentioned that the pay differentials and the level of the new jobs then being offered may have been why the women workers were being "choosy."

Data about female attitudes toward layoffs have not been collected systematically, but apparently women war workers expected and did not especially resent being laid off as cutbacks marked the end of the war. What they did resent and what several of them filed grievances about was that they were not rehired in accordance with their rightful seniority when a plant was reconverted to postwar production, sometimes as quickly as two years later.

There were no precedents to help women retain or regain their high-paying jobs. Had the Equal Rights Amendment been passed before or during the war, it would have rendered segregated job classifications unconstitutional, but without it, such job classifications were the inevitable corollary of protective legislation. Protective laws covering such

work conditions as maximum hours and night work (which had been suspended by gubernatorial or legislative decrees during the war to permit women to do "men's jobs" temporarily) were enforced again by the states after the war, in order to effectively remove women from those jobs.

The issue of women's employment was complicated by many ambiguities and interpretations. First, *plant-wide seniority*: if a department closed down as the demand for a specific war product ended, could employees retain their seniority in other areas of the plant? Or use their seniority to get preference for transferral to another area of the plant? Second, the *Selective Service Act*: did it require the employment of all returning veterans, whether or not they had worked prior to entering the service? Third, *job classification*: could a woman who had been working at a "man's job" during the war be bumped off that job at the end of the war simply because it was classified as a male job? Fourth, *wage rates*: because the equal pay decisions of the National War Labor Board were no longer binding after the war, could an employer avoid paying women equal rates by slightly altering the job classifications?

It wasn't until the late forties and early fifties that women began to register their grievances. Suits were filed demanding back pay because "certain female classifications were changed to male classifications" so as to exclude women from keeping or returning to jobs they had held during the war. Though most suits were denied, 31 women from the Chrysler Corporation were awarded a back pay settlement of \$55,000 in 1948 to compensate for having been let go and for violation of their seniority when they were not recalled.

But for the most part, the female employees who wanted and needed to continue working were forced to move out of the industrial sector of the economy without recourse. They grudgingly gave up the jobs they had performed so well and the high incomes they earned.

Today, impressive numbers of women have been absorbed into the work force: women comprise 38 percent of those working. But in terms of work, stature, and equity, the workingwoman of 1973 has a long way to go to catch Rosie the Riveter.

Sheila Tobias is an academic administrator at Wesleyan University, where she was appointed to develop women's studies programs and affirmative action plans for women and minorities. She wishes to dedicate this study of "Rosie the Riveter" to the Rosie who inspired her—her mother, Rose Tobias.

Lisa Anderson, a sophomore at Wesleyan University, is currently in England studying the British system of child care during World War II.

COLLATERAL READING XVI
(ACTIVITY III)

WHAT ABOUT WOMEN AFTER THE WAR?

Choices open to women have not changed much in over 30 years. In September 1943 at the height of our country's involvement in World War II the few alternatives open to women were marriage, children, and careers, not necessarily in that order and not necessarily only one of those. Some women wanted to do all three. Women of foresight in the work force had already begun to ask about what they would be able to do after the war. Would there be a job for everyone wanting to work, or only for those *needing* to do so? Would men of independent income be denied employment in the same manner as women who wanted to work but didn't need to? Would a system be built in which everyone must justify his or her existence with work? Would equal employment opportunities be opened up for everyone, male or female?

Business, labor, and political leaders expected the large numbers of women who worked in the wartime labor force to return from factories and offices to roles as full-time wives and mothers. However, a few thinkers (mostly women) of the early 'forties started to predict a shift in females' preferences from the parts they had traditionally played in their homes to salaried positions in the work force. It was suggested that volunteer social service would no longer be enough for well-off women who had involved themselves in more exciting immediacies of war. Professionally trained women and women past 40 would be particularly troublesome to place in the male-managed caste complex, but it was felt that their potential contributions could, should, and would open doors formerly closed to them.

Writers in that era were realizing that *all* people have individual needs and abilities. They were recognizing that freedom of choice must be combined with the opportunity to carry out the choice. It had begun to be pointed out that it is society's responsibility to provide these opportunities. One writer defended the need for women to work by pointing out the fact that "some women are temperamentally unsuited to caring for children, or untrained for housework, and, having been in the business world before marriage, find themselves happiest in that life." She argued, "Many children would be better off in a good nursery school than under the constant nagging of an irritable, because unadjusted, mother." Commentators on the 'forties scene were wondering what had been lost by denying to women the means by which to develop as full human beings, citing outstanding individuals such as Mme. Curie as specific instances of success. The key point was "All women should have a chance to make their choice of home, children, or career--or all three."

The Lady's a Soldier*

By Octavus Roy Cohen

Our new women's army is wasting no time in dispelling doubts about their ability to take it. These girls are real soldiers, and here's how they're proving it

CONSIDER a working day which starts at 5:45 A. M. and ends officially at 7:50 at night. Consider several thousand workers who are so enthusiastic about their jobs that they often leave comfortable beds before they have to in the morning, and who spend much of their leisure time in extra effort.

Consider all of that, plus unflagging enthusiasm and a great pride in what they are doing, and you begin to get a picture of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps in training at Fort Des Moines, Iowa.

There are two groups of women in training at Fort Des Moines: officer candidates and Auxiliaries, the latter corresponding to the enlisted men of the Army. Their basic training is identical, their routines are the same, and there is only this outstanding difference in their lives at the post: that the officer candidate does a lot more studying and classroom work than the Auxiliary. By way of example, after the evening meal, which comes at about five o'clock, the Auxiliaries—or Basics—are free until tattoo at nine. But the officer candidates are compelled to put in at least fifty minutes of that time studying, and actually they average about two hours.

Save for Saturday and Sunday, there is drill every day, there is compulsory exercise, there are work periods and study periods, and one class after another. The days are full to the brim.

The numerical growth of the training center will keep pace with the construction. Eventually, six to seven thousand women will be on duty or in training at Fort Des Moines at all times. As each class of officers graduates, as noncoms are appointed, as Basics complete their training and become full-fledged Auxiliaries, the permanent complement at the post will become more and more feminine.

The present plans—and they're always subject to sudden change in this rapidly growing army of women—call for this military setup:

As in the men's army, the smallest tactical unit will be the squad, which will be composed of from eight to twelve Waacs and will be under the command of a junior leader, whose chevrons will be those of a corporal.

The next larger unit will be the platoon, which will consist of three or four squads and will be under the direct command of a second or third officer, who will be assisted by one or more noncom leaders.

The company will be made up of three or four platoons and will have a first officer as its commander. She will be assisted by a full complement of commissioned officers of lesser rank, plus the necessary noncoms. And beyond that will come the regiment, which, in the case of the officer candidates, will consist of six companies.

The four regiments already planned will be grouped in about this way: The first regiment will consist entirely of Waacs who are candidates for commissions; the second regiment will consist of specialists who have completed their basic training; the third regiment will contain in its ranks only women who are taking their basic training; and the fourth regiment will consist of officers and Auxiliaries who form the school detachment, plus staff, faculty, and companies awaiting orders for transfer to permanent stations away from Fort Des Moines.

A good many people have asked the question, "What are women doing in the Army?" One of the answers is that they're working harder than they ever worked before, and harder than almost any civilian ever works. With certain exceptions, they're doing the same work that the men of the Army are doing. The masculine personnel at Fort Des Moines is sold on this women's army. "They got what it takes," a veteran sergeant said the other day. "In all the years I've been in, I never saw a bunch of men rookies that caught on so quick."

COLLATERAL READING XVII
(ACTIVITY IV)

WOMEN
Hobby's Army*

In England this week, the U. S. Women's Army Corps had the pleasantly apprehensive experience of being inspected by the Corps' Commanding Officer. Trim Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby, head woman of the WACs, found everything in order.

She saw erect, well-dressed girls drawn up for parade. In the clammy English dawn, she saw WACs in maroon bathrobes (with boy friends' unit insignia sewn on their sleeves) dashing from tin barracks and scuttling across the mud--heading for the "ablution hut" to start the day with a shivery wash-up.

There was not much glamor in it, Hobby's army had found out. Living quarters were either huts heated by a single stove, or some drafty English country house. Only a few hundred WACs working in London were lucky enough to live in greater comfort. The pay was low. The hours were long. Discipline was strict. Sometimes there were bombings.

G. I. Jane. By last week 1,170 WACs, dubbed "G. I. Janes" in the European Theater of Operations, were undergoing these rigors. Most of them were at General Dwight Eisenhower's headquarters and Eighth Air Force stations, where they plotted, teleprinted, operated switchboards, made maps, assessed combat films, "sweated out" missions in flight control rooms.

With dignity and firm morale, they had survived difficulties due to early mistakes in organization and many other unforeseen obstacles. They had caught on with a speed which amazed U. S. and British officers. They had distinguished themselves as nice-looking, hard-working, cheerful girls. Commanding officers recognized their work by pleading for more of them.

They managed to have some fun; they took in the sights, had more dates than they had ever had in their lives. During occasional air raids, some achieved the WAC ambition: to bolt from barracks, crouch in a slit trench and duck back to bed at the "all clear" without really waking up. Instead of, "What's cooking?" they said, "Nervous in the service?"

From three whole WAC battalions only three Janes had gone A.W.O.L. Chief gripe was "Why should we stay behind when the boys open the second front?"

Chief wonderment was over the tales from home that WAC recruiting had fallen down. They favored conscription for women. They asked: "What's the matter with them? Don't they want to live?"

The Colonel indeed had reason to be proud of her overseas troops, 3,002 of whom were serving in England, North Africa, Egypt, New Caledonia, India.

* *Time*, XLIII (January 17, 1944): 57-58, 60.

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Like G. I. Joe. At home the women in Hobby's army had turned in an equally good record. The Army had anticipated emotional outbursts, resentment at having to take orders, squawks about living in barracks, feuds and cliques and general troubles with the unpredictable (to men) nature of women. Now at Fort Des Moines, oldest of the three training centers, officers were quick to say that the Army's fears were generally groundless.

Graduated from training, WACs now fill 239 different kinds of jobs and in some cases have filled them better than men. Among other things, WACs are opticians, surgical technicians, chemists, surveyors, electricians, radio repairmen, control-tower operators, boiler inspectors, riveters, welders, tractor mechanics, balloon-gas handlers, dog trainers.

Chief gripe of WACs at home is now that they are stuck. Said Corporal Sara Sykes at Fort Oglethorpe: "We practically drool when we hear of someone going overseas." They complain that C. O.s do not always give them enough to do. Old soldiers fear that the busy WACs are on the way to end forever the enlisted soldiers' time-honored practice of "gold bricking."

COLLATERAL READING XIX
(ACTIVITY IV)

THE WASP*

*Quietly and efficiently, the Women's Airforce
Service Pilots are setting an enviable record
as civilian employees of the Army Air Forces.*

A HOT pursuit pilot--a captain, with the wings of one of the old RAF Eagle Squadrons, as well as various decorations of our own Army Air Forces--told this one.

"Because I was a good little boy," he grinned, "they sent me back to AAFSAT from England. And after I'd out-lied the GAR to the new guys and soaked up some Florida sunshine for a few weeks, they told me I was going to get a new *Thunderbolt*.

"So this day the overcast was so deep Orlando had practically knocked off flying. It was the day my *Thunderbolt* was due and I was kind of sore. Then we heard it. The apron sort of filled up with guys who wouldn't admit they were worried, of course. But they did want to see what was coming in through this stuff. Sure enough, a *Thunderbolt* broke out at about 500 feet, made a smooth turn to the end of the runway and rolled to as pretty a stop, right in front of operations, as I ever saw. It couldn't have been done better in English weather.

"I ran up to the wing and out stepped the teeny-weeniest little girl I ever saw in my life. And of course she looked about half her size crawling down that crate. She had kind of a tired grin.

"Your plane, captain?" she asked me, and I nodded. She went on, 'Needs a little right aileron but I don't think it's serious enough to put in a shim. . . .'

"Just then the tower man ran up.

"Look here, you, why didn't you tell me you were a girl?"

"You cleared me in, didn't you, soldier?" and it was a tough voice from a kid like that.

"But if I'd known you were a girl," the tower man started but she cut him short.

"Listen," she said, 'way back when I was just a commercial pilot with only about 500 hours, a tower radio man got set down for six months for trying to make a date with me as I came in--Now where's that *Skytrain* for back up north you told me to hurry up and catch?"

**Flying*, XXXIV (January 1944): 73-74, 148, 163.

"The guy carried her parachute and bag for her. I'd have done the same myself."

She was one of the WASP's--Women's Airforce Service Pilots. And she was one of those who are rapidly earning the respect of their brothers in the air. They are civil employees but they are *in* the Army Air Forces and they are, despite some rough going, little by little being considered as *of* the Army Air Forces.

The rough going comes from some of the veterans who still don't think women can fly. It's a feeling that Jacqueline Cochran will probably remember as prevalent among the old timers back in the days when she was making all sorts of records for women, some of which exceeded those made by men. Miss Cochran is now Director of Women Pilots, AAF, and Special Assistant to the Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Operations Commitments and Requirements. More briefly, she's head WASP.

Her husband, Floyd Odum of investment trust fame, sees nothing unpleasant in that. The wasp, he wrote her after doing some research the other day, is neat and industrious, rolls up its sleeves and tucks up its skirts when doing dirty work and, after such a job as rolling a mud pellet for a nest, carefully cleans its feet, legs and mandibles.

The WASP's are thinking of adopting it as a slogan. Meanwhile they go ahead rolling their own stuff--which isn't mud.

One, Isabel Fenton, of West Springfield, Mass., was flying a Vega *Ventura* about 6,000 feet over the dunes off Camp Davis, N. C., the other day hauling an airplane target for a battery of four 90-mm. guns to shoot at. In 20 rounds the 90's got the target and the target fell blazing into the sea. There were cries of "Ah!" and "Oh!" and "Good shooting!" from the gallery of press and radio representatives and officers. But as the *Ventura* wiggled its wings and swung off for its base a grizzled colonel mumbled into his mustache:

"Hell, they missed the girl!"

There was some nervousness among the antiaircraft crews training at Davis when they learned that their targets were towed by girl pilots. There was some grouching over the break-up of routine training involved. But the WASP's are going steadily ahead and the gunners are learning to shoot. And the records show they are both doing it well.

At Camp Davis the WASP's are doing the most advanced work yet assigned them. They are towing targets for actual firing and flying all kinds of planes for tracking training--training in which the gun crews follow the target plane with all the multiple devices they have for that purpose--but never shoot at it. The work involves both visual and sound tracking and tracking through other devices that far transcend visual or aural means.

The girls are flying relatively hot ships--such as the Douglas *Dauntless* dive bomber and the Vega *Ventura*. They are logging approximately 84 hours a month each. During the past three months the 50 girls at the post have

piled up a total of about 12,600 hours in target and tracking work, plus such time as they have spent on transition training in ships new to them and in training and check flights on blind and instrument flying.

Blind and instrument flying are necessary for the very important night practice which makes up a large part of antiaircraft artillery training. Contact flying is impossible under such circumstances because Camp Davis is equipped with the most modern searchlights and with a battery of those in a pilot's eyes he is blinded just as effectually as if it were zero-zero.

Despite the character of the work there have been but two fatalities at Camp Davis in the 12,600 hours of women's flying. That works out as .016 fatality per 1000 hours. It may be compared with the latest figures for the Army Air Forces as a whole in continental United States which were released by the Assistant Secretary of War for Air, Robert A. Lovett, in a speech before the National Safety Congress in Chicago on October 6. Mr. Lovett took justifiable pride in the figure he gave. It was .083--the number of fatal accidents per 1,000 hours flown a slight increase over the .077 for the corresponding previous year, ended June 30, 1942. Yet the record of the WASP's at Camp Davis was more than five times safer than that of the home Air Force as a whole ($.016 \times 5 = .080$).

When the record of the WASP's as a whole is measured against that of the home Air Forces as a whole, the comparison is even more striking. Taking Mr. Lovett's figures for the year ended October 6, the Air Forces as a whole in the United States flew with .083 fatal accidents per 1,000 hours. The WASP in all its flying, about 166,000 hours, had a record of but .054 fatalities or fatal accidents per 1,000 hours.

The term "fatalities or fatal accidents" is used in connection with the WASP figure because in no instance has the WASP had more than one fatality per fatal accident. In the Air Forces as a whole, of course, there would be many more fatalities per fatal accident because so many more large bombers and transports have been involved. Statistics for previous periods in Air Forces flying indicate an average of more than two fatalities per fatal accident. In fatalities per 1000 hours the WASP was about three times as safe as the Air Force as a whole in the United States.

Though the following figures are not exactly comparable, because Air Force figures as a whole also involve flying with instructors, nevertheless, the WASP's like to point out that for the four fatal accidents in their record when the girls were flying alone, they rolled up a total of almost 45,000 hours. That would mean for WASP solo flying a record of .088 fatal accidents per 1,000 hours--practically the same as for the Air Forces as a whole in the United States.

No such comparison can be made in the category of non-fatal accidents. The WASP's haven't had any, thank you. Only once was one of the girls sent to hospital and that was for a non-flying mishap. Two girls sprained ankles getting out of planes on their final check flight before graduation--they were that excited at knowledge they were to pass.

Nor, according to Miss Cochran, can even the fatal accidents be attributed definitely to defects in flying ability. Of the nine fatal accidents, two occurred on ferrying trips from causes never determined. Of five fatal accidents in the training school at Sweetwater, Tex., four occurred with male instructors in the cockpits. One fatality at Camp Davis was with an instructor aboard for transitional training. One accident at Camp Davis was definitely traced to causes unrelated to flying.

And, as has so often happened in all flying, fatal accidents have occurred to the pilots who seemed to have been best qualified to avoid them. One of the ferry pilots, killed at Long Beach, Calif., was Virginia Moffett, who had a commercial license and an advanced instructor's rating before she joined the WASP's. Another was Cornelia Fort, killed at Merkle, Tex. She had been an instructor in the CAA program with an excellent record.

At Camp Davis the records of 30 of the girls on duty there were made available to reporters. In 18 instances there was statement of flying time logged before entering the WASP course. It averaged 100 hours. The girls with the most time were Mrs. Gertrude Brown, Jersey City, squadron commander at Davis, and Mrs. Mary A. Nelson, Burlingame, Calif., public relation officer for the WASP's at Davis. Both had 340 hours before entering training.

The girl with the fewest previous hours had but 60 listed. But 17 of the girls have CPTP private pilot's certificates, involving at least 36 hours. All entrants to course must have at least 35 hours logged. Two of them had secondary CPTP training, nine had served in the Civil Patrol, three had commercial licenses, three instructors' ratings, and one had been a Link trainer instructor. Certainly the girls at Davis were not raw recruits when they entered training.

And that training, it is emphasized precisely the same primary, basic and advanced as is required for cadets in Army Air Forces. The same transition training is involved in each instance. Then, like tactical training given men graduate as second lieutenants in the Forces, the graduates of the WASP schools, now concentrated under a civilian contractor at Sweetwater, Tex., are for their transitional training or checked out on the types of planes they will fly in their future assignment.

The girls have checked out on and actually flying all types of tactical planes in ferry service except the heavy and some of the medium bombers. In no squadron are they trained or checked out for service to or in the combat areas.

Though ferrying was the first job assigned women pilots, no less than 10 projects are now being explored to see whether the WASP's cannot be usefully employed in them in order to release men for combat work. According to program plans there will be at least 600 WASP's qualified by the end of this year, with 500 more in training. Enrollment has been suspended for the present as there are at least 1,000 more girls who have been interviewed and found to have the necessary qualifications. Commitments have been made to continue the program on this basis to the end of 1944.

The use of women pilots by the AAF began with the organization of a squadron of experienced women flyers, based at Wilmington, Del., by Mrs. Nancy Harkness Love, wife of Col. Robert Love, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Air Transport Command, who was herself an experienced pilot. Miss Cochran, in the meantime, had ferried a bomber to England and made a study of the use of women pilots there. She recruited and took with her a group of 25 experienced American women pilots, most of whom are still flying under contract to the RAF in England.

As facilities became available for the training of women pilots, it was carried on by the Training Command at Houston, under Miss Cochran's supervision. This training rapidly expanded the number of pilots available for Mrs. Love's ferry squadrons.

The first exclusive women's training detachment, the 319th, was opened at Houston and the first class graduated in April, 1943, after a six month's course. Since then a class has been graduated and a new one enrolled every month. The whole training project has now been moved to Avenger Field, Sweetwater, Tex., with McKaugham & Kriegel Aviation Enterprises as the contractor.

Meanwhile, separate squadrons of the ferry command, under the Air Transport Command, have been established at Long Beach, Calif., Dallas, Tex., and Romulus, Mich. Each is under a squadron commander, with Mrs. Love acting as senior squadron commander with general supervision of these activities.

WASP's are civil servants at present and are paid \$150 a month while in training and \$250 a month upon graduation. They receive the regular \$6 a day when away from their bases and when at the base live as junior officers, paying for their own rooms and mess. Uniforms, now being approved, will be furnished them.

At Camp Davis the WASP's have their own building, divided into rooms equivalent to bachelor officers' quarters. But the decorations and frills are enough to give a bachelor officer something to think about. Over each G. I. cot is a silken coverlet. There are lacy pillows. Window curtains run distinctly to the distaff side. Almost every room, however, shows the traces of serious work. There are maps and charts--no pin-up boys--on the walls. There are a few modern novels on bedhead tables but there are more text books on weather, flying and artillery.

Under these conditions the morale of the girls is obviously high. They talk intelligently of their jobs. There is plenty of kidding and horseplay, too. And all of them are looking forward to further participation in the other projects, now under restriction, but which will be announced as their usefulness to the Army Air Forces is increasingly proven.

END

APPENDIX II

SOME PARTICULARS ABOUT THE
CONGRESS

HOW THE CONGRESS WAS CALLED

THE scheme of an International Congress of Women was formulated at a small conference of Women from neutral and belligerent countries, held at Amsterdam, early in Febr. 1915. A preliminary programme was drafted at this meeting, and it was agreed to request the Dutch Women to form a Committee to take in hand all the arrangement for the Congress and to issue the invitations.

FINANCE

The expenses of the Congress were guaranteed by British, Dutch and German Women present who all agreed to raise one third of the sum required.

MEMBERSHIP

Invitations to take part in the Congress were sent to women's organisations and mixed organisations as well as to individual women all over the world. Each organisation was invited to appoint two delegates.

Women only could become members of the Congress and they were required to express themselves in general agreement with the resolutions on the preliminary programme. This general agreement was interpreted to imply the conviction *a.* That international disputes should be settled by pacific means; *b.* That the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women.

CONDITIONS OF DEBATE

The Congress was carried on under two important rules:

1. That discussions on the relative national responsibility for or conduct of the present war,
2. Resolutions dealing with the rules under which war shall in future be carried on, shall be outside the scope of the Congress.

COUNTRIES REPRESENTED

The United States of America, which sent 47 members; Sweden, which sent 12; Norway, 12; Netherlands, 1,000; Italy, 1; Hungary, 9; Germany, 28; Denmark, 6; Canada, 2; Belgium, 5; Austria, 6, and Great Britain, 3, although 180 others from there were prevented from sailing owing to the closing of the North Sea for military reasons.

The Congress, which was attended by a large number of visitors as well as by the members, was extremely successful. Proceedings were conducted with the greatest goodwill throughout, and the accompanying resolutions were passed at the business sessions.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS

LEOP. KULKA,	} Austria.
OLGA MISAR,	
EUGÉNIE HAMER,	} Belgium.
MARGUÉRITE SARTEN,	
THORA DAUGAARD,	} Denmark.
CLARA TYBJERG,	
DR. ANITA AUGSPURG,	} Germany.
LIDA GUSTAVA HEYMAN,	
Secretary & Interpreter,	
CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN,	} Great Britain and Ireland.
Secretary,	
KATHLEEN COURTNEY,	
Interpreter,	
VILMA GLÜCKLICH,	} Hungary.
ROSIKA SCHWIMMER,	
ROSE GENONI,	Italy.
DR. ALETTA JACOBS,	} Netherlands.
HANNA VAN BIEMA-HYMANS,	
Secretary,	
DR. MIA BOISSEVAIN,	} Norway.
DR. EMILY ARNESEN,	
LOUISA KEILHAU,	
ANNA KLEMAN,	} Sweden.
EMMA HANSSON,	
JANE ADDAMS, President,	} U. S. A.
FANNIE FERN ANDREWS,	

* Jane Addams, *Women at The Hague* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), pp. 146-159.

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APPENDIX III

RESOLUTIONS¹ adopted by the International Congress of Women at The Hague, May 1, 1915.

I. WOMEN AND WAR

1. PROTEST

We women, in International Congress assembled, protest against the madness and the horror of war, involving as it does a reckless sacrifice of human life and the destruction of so much that humanity has laboured through centuries to build up.

2. WOMEN'S SUFFERINGS IN WAR

This International Congress of Women opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare. It protests vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war, and especially against the horrible violation of women which attends all war.

¹ The discussion of these Resolutions and others which were not carried is to be found in the official report of the International Congress of Women at The Hague.

II. ACTION TOWARDS PEACE

3. THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

This International Congress of Women of different nations, classes, creeds and parties is united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, who are fighting for their country or labouring under the burden of war.

Since the mass of the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors but in self-defence and for their national existence, there can be no irreconcilable differences between them, and their common ideals afford a basis upon which a magnanimous and honourable peace might be established. The Congress therefore urges the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed, and to begin peace negotiations. It demands that the peace which follows shall be permanent and therefore based on principles of justice, including those laid down in the resolutions¹ adopted by this Congress, namely:

That no territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it, and that the right of conquest should not be recognized.

¹ The Resolutions in full are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

That autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

That the Governments of all nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation and to bring social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms.

That foreign politics should be subject to democratic control.

That women should be granted equal political rights with men.

4. CONTINUOUS MEDIATION

This International Congress of Women resolves to ask the neutral countries to take immediate steps to create a conference of neutral nations which shall without delay offer continuous mediation. The Conference shall invite suggestions for settlement from each of the belligerent nations and in any case shall submit to all of them simultaneously, reasonable proposals as a basis of peace.

III. PRINCIPLES OF A PERMANENT PEACE

5. RESPECT FOR NATIONALITY

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of the people to self-government, affirms that there should be no¹ transference of territory without the consent of the men and women residing therein, and urges that autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

6. ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION

This International Congress of Women, believing that war is the negation of progress and civilization, urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration and conciliation.

7. INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE

This International Congress of Women urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to unite in bringing social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country, which resorts to arms instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation.

8. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF FOREIGN POLICY

Since war is commonly brought about not by the mass of the people, who do not desire it, but

¹ The Congress declared by vote that it interpreted no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women in it to imply that the right of conquest was not to be recognized.

by groups representing particular interests, this International Congress of Women urges that Foreign Politics shall be subject to Democratic Control; and declares that it can only recognise as democratic a system which includes the equal representation of men and women.

9. THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN

Since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war, and since women can only have full responsibility and effective influence when they have equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement.

IV. INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION

10. THIRD HAGUE CONFERENCE

This International Congress of Women urges that a third Hague Conference be convened immediately after the war.

11. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

This International Congress of Women urges that the organization of the Society of Nations should be further developed on the basis of a constructive peace, and that it should include:

a. As a development of the Hague Court of Arbitration, a permanent International Court of Justice to settle questions or differences of a justiciable character, such as arise on the interpretation of treaty rights or of the law of nations.

b. As a development of the constructive work of the Hague Conference, a permanent International Conference holding regular meetings in which women should take part, to deal not with the rules of warfare but with practical proposals for further International Coöperation among the States. This Conference should be so constituted that it could formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity and good will in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognized and the interests and rights not only of the great Powers and small nations but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion.

This International Conference shall appoint:

A permanent Council of Conciliation and Investigation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population and changes in social and political standards.

12. GENERAL DISARMAMENT

The International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realizing that it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.

13. COMMERCE AND INVESTMENTS

a. The International Congress of Women urges that in all countries there shall be liberty of commerce, that the seas shall be free and the trade routes open on equal terms to the shipping of all nations.

b. Inasmuch as the investment by capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims arising therefrom are a fertile source of international complications, this International Congress of Women urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government.

14. NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY

a. This International Congress of Women demands that all secret treaties shall be void and that for the ratification of future treaties, the participation of at least the legislature of every government shall be necessary.

b. This International Congress of Women recommends that National Commissions be created, and International Conferences convened for the scientific study and elaboration of the principles and conditions of permanent peace, which might contribute to the development of an International Federation.

These Commissions and Conferences should be recognized by the Governments and should include women in their deliberations.

15. WOMEN IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

This International Congress of Women declares it to be essential, both nationally and internationally to put into practice the principle that women should share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men.

V. THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

16. This International Congress of Women urges the necessity of so directing the education

of children that their thoughts and desires may be directed towards the ideal of constructive peace.

VI. WOMEN AND THE PEACE SETTLEMENT CONFERENCE

17. This International Congress of Women urges, that in the interests of lasting peace and civilisation the Conference which shall frame the Peace settlement after the war should pass a resolution affirming the need in all countries of extending the parliamentary franchise to women.

18. This International Congress of Women urges that representatives of the people should take part in the conference that shall frame the peace settlement after the war, and claims that amongst them women should be included.

VII. ACTION TO BE TAKEN

19. WOMEN'S VOICE IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

This International Congress of Women resolves that an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the Conference of the Powers which shall frame the terms of the peace settlement after the war for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that Conference.

20. ENVOYS TO THE GOVERNMENTS

In order to urge the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed and to establish a just and lasting peace, this International Congress of Women delegates envoys to carry the message expressed in the Congress Resolutions to the rulers of the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of the United States.

These Envoys shall be women of both neutral and belligerent nations, appointed by the International Committee of this Congress. They shall report the result of their missions to the International Committee of Women for permanent Peace as a basis for further action.

COLLATERAL READING XXI

(ACTIVITY V)

WOODROW WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

On January 8, 1918, President Wilson announced his famous Fourteen Points upon which he felt it would be possible to formulate terms of peace. They are as follows:

1. Open covenants openly arrived at.
2. Freedom of the seas alike in peace and in war.
3. The removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations.
4. Reduction of national armaments.
5. A readjustment of all colonial claims in which the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the government whose title is to be determined.
6. The evacuation of Russian territory and the independent determination by Russia of her own political development and national policy.
7. The evacuation and restoration of Belgium.
8. The evacuation and restoration of France and the return of Alsace-Lorraine.
9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along national lines.
10. Self-determination for the peoples of Austria Hungary.
11. A redrawing of the boundaries of the Balkan states along historically established lines of nationality.
12. Self-determination for the peoples under Turkish rule and freedom of the Dardenelles under international guarantees.
13. The independence of Poland with free access to the sea guaranteed by international covenant.
14. The formation of a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.



Women at the Peace Conference*

By Eleanor Roosevelt



NO PEACE conference seems to be confronting us at the moment, but when and if there is one, I am confident that we will see women not only in the United States delegation but also from other countries. The interests of women who are fighting this war alongside the men cannot be ignored in any decisions for the future.

Through the years men have made the wars; it is only fair to suggest that women can help to make a lasting peace. Women are, because of their natural functions, the great conservers of life; men spend it. Men are now giving up, though rather reluctantly, their ancient prerogatives of deciding, without feminine assistance, the great questions of public policy.

Queen Elizabeth, Mrs. Winston Churchill, Lady Reading and many other British women stand out today as having prepared themselves during the war to face the problems of the postwar world. Certainly Queen Wilhelmina and Princess Juliana have been doing the same. From Madame Molotoff down, every woman in Russia has been taking her part in assisting the armed services. Madame Chiang Kai-shek is never far away from her husband's side. In every country there are women ready to think in terms of postwar developments on a world scale.

As each future conference of the nations meets, women should be among the delegates, no matter what the subject under discussion. This is not only a question of the recognition of women, it is a question of education for citizenship.

If women do not sit side by side with men and hear the arguments as they develop, decisions will be made without the proper basis of knowledge, decisions which cannot be carried out unless the majority of the women in every country cooperate in making them successful. News travels fast through women's clubs; such organizations would help greatly in spreading information if some of their members sat in important councils with men.

I was proud that our nation had women present at the Food Conference, and was glad that on our delegation at the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Conference we had not only women delegates but several women as observers. The observers were women with interests in special fields; they brought up points that otherwise would not have been given adequate consideration. I hope that, as more conferences are called, we will see an increasing number of women take their places with the men.

All nations are ruled primarily by self-interest, and women are not going to be different from men in that respect. But the men often think that our self-interest lies in reaching out for more power through force or through trade. Isn't it conceivable that women may think our self-interest lies in giving all the world a chance to envision something a little better than has been known before? That conception does not exist because women are more unselfish; it is because women value the conservation of human life more highly than the acquisition of power. Women will try to find ways to cooperate where men think only of dominating.

You will say that my thesis cannot be proved — and I will agree with you. Yet in the past, whenever women have shared in the councils of the mighty, there have been shining examples among them. Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria gave their country good leadership. Queen Wilhelmina is doing so today.

I can remember when women first began to be a factor in politics in this country, when it was generally said that "politics is no place for women."

Men took off their coats and smoked big black cigars and put their feet on the tables and drank liquor and insisted that their political gatherings would offend the ladies. (The ladies seem to be surviving, however!)

Perhaps women haven't accomplished all they might have in politics, but there is a good deal more social legislation than there ever was before women had the vote. When a question comes up which really arouses the women of this country, believe me, the men know that women are now a real factor in politics.

My plea is not for women at a peace conference only. It is for women in every meeting which deals with postwar problems; more women among our state legislators, in our city governments; more women in Congress; more women in high appointive positions of responsibility. They will not be there to oppose men, but to work with men, to have a share in shaping the new world which, whether we want it or not, is going to confront us some day. Men and women will have to live in this new world together. They should begin now to build it together.

COLLATERAL READING XXIII

(ACTIVITY V)

Feminism and Imperialism

We are feminists from the United States who participated in the IWY Tribune, held simultaneously with the United Nations World Conference on women in Mexico City, June 19-July 2, 1975.

In meeting our Third World sisters, we found ourselves engaged in many discussions about imperialism, patriarchy, feminism and economics. As a result of these discussions, we further realize how much we have in common with all women of the world and how much we have to learn from them.

Today we live in a world of economic, political and social systems based on domination and exploitation of some individuals and groups by others. Central to this behavior is a lack of respect and concern for the needs of the total human community and an unhealthy drive for power.

These attitudes are manifested in the domination and exploitation of one nation by another, or imperialism. Other forms of exploitation and domination are that of men over women and that of one race or ethnic group over another, the exploitation of one class or socio-economic group by another or the attempt of one religious group to suppress another. Further manifestations of domination or "imperialism" occur in the areas of age, sexual preference, life-style, occupation and social status.

Although sexism is not usually equated with imperialism, it is clear that men have established a form of "empire" all over the world, in which women have been allowed to participate only to the degree that it serves the interests of men. Therefore sexism could be considered to be a form of imperialism which manifests itself in economic, social, political and cultural domination over women.

These patterns contradict the reality of interdependence and harmony within the universe. Patriarchy and imperialism, functioning without regard for this reality, have led to untold misery and the imminent possibility of world destruction. We see imperialism as the extension of the patriarchal system present to some degree in all forms of government, exploiting not only women but other groups and nations.

At the core of domination of any group by another is unequal access to economic opportunities and political and economic decision-making, as well as lack of control over communications media.

We feminists recognize that we must work to change any system that depends on domination and exploitation of one group by another. We will work toward national and world-wide economic, political and social systems which provide basic rights to all human beings.

Those basic rights should include:

1. Freedom of the individual to develop her full human potential
2. Equitable distribution of world resources so that each person has adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical, and other necessities of physical and mental well-being.
3. Equal opportunity for access to education and jobs
4. Full legal and civil rights for all persons
5. Recognition that care of children is the responsibility and privilege of the entire human society
6. Respect for and maintenance of the balance of nature in our environment
7. Disarmament and a world without war

Feminists have been absent from our country's decision-making process, but we are determined to push for a direct role in United States' policy-making in order to achieve the above goals.

We want to work with feminists and other concerned people throughout the world in this effort.

Cynthia Bianchi, Peggy Hayden, Phoebe Seham,
Sara Nelson, Jacqueline Skiles, and Myrra Lee,
members of the Committee on Feminism and
Imperialism



WOMEN AND THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM



WOMEN AND THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Background

Previous to the Industrial Revolution the labor of females and males was interdependent and equally valued and necessary. Monetary reward for labor which became the norm with the inception of the factory system began to draw lines of distinction between male and female labor. Women and children's work in the industrial system was remunerated to a lesser degree.

Also at this time a divergence grew in the type of lives led by middle class women and lower class women. Middle class women became more entrenched in service in the home for their own family unit (without pay), and the lower class woman depended on menial, poorly paid outside jobs or employment as domestic servants. Women, children, blacks, and immigrants formed a large pool of cheap labor which made our industrial growth possible. That was true in the 19th century, and as the charts of this unit document, it is true today.

What kind of economy has evolved in our country? To a great extent it is an economy built on the ideas of continuous growth, an ever-expanding economy, and the planned obsolescence of products. An auxiliary concept of this type of economy is the image of woman as lady, i.e., a woman full-time in the home. This situation is made possible by her husband's income level, which enables her to take care of the family's service needs. Moreover, it encourages her to function on a full-time basis as consumer of products. A corollary of the woman as full-time consumer is that consumption of goods and services is her prime source of happiness.

While women in the paid labor market are rarely equitably compensated, women who make their work contribution in the home are totally unvalidated by the usual rewards of our economic system (money payment, promotion, paid vacation, medical benefits, retirement, Social Security in their own right, etc.). Likewise, in the salaried positions of so-called "women's" jobs (See "Fact Sheet on the Earnings Gap.") women are at the bottom of the scale.

The U.S. Department of Labor's *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, which lists every job classification in the country according to complexity of the job and skills required, rates "housewife" near the bottom of the list of over 23,000 jobs. The accompanying description states: "Housewife: of no value except in the service function."

Why is there such a disparity between women's and men's economic roles? The training and role expectations for girls and boys are different, even though they are educated within the same institutions in the same classes by the same teachers with purportedly equal opportunities for boy and girl students. Jessie Bernard elaborates on the disparity of expectations and training in the article, "Women and New Social Structures":

The concept of a "woman's sphere" is a very old one, and it lingers on today in both the media and in popular culture. In most societies women do, in fact, live in quite different societal structures from

those men live in. The wife's marriage is different from the husband's in terms of the norms--written and unwritten, articulated and unarticulated--involved and the functions performed. Girls and boys may sit side by side in the same classroom, but they are attending different educational institutions, with different facilities and equipment, different latent as well as manifest curricula. The religious institutions women are involved in, including churches, are different for men and women. The legal institutions in her world differ from those in his. And so on for recreational institutions, the work world, or any other societal structure. The rules in the world women inhabit are different from those in the world men inhabit. Men and women march to different drummers. They are not even in the same parade."¹

In our society wives and mothers are alternately exalted and unsupported. The job of keeping house and raising children is not only unpaid, but citations, awards, and positive community notice are rarely forthcoming. If the product, the child, turns out poorly (e.g., a slow learner, drug addict, sexual deviant, etc.) the blame falls most heavily on the mother. Though women are assured that total psychological fulfillment is achieved through the roles of wife and mother, there is no formal on-the-job training for what she anticipates as her lifetime occupation. She is expected to learn by observing, and as Elizabeth Janeway states:

. . . expected to act by instinct; and this expectation in itself sets [mothers] apart from the rest of society, where people assume that they will be taught the basic rules of the job they have to do. The expectation that they will be able to act by instinct sets women apart, also, by suggesting that they operate on a more primitive level than is normal for the rest of our world.²

Parenting, whether done by man or woman, is picked up by osmosis or by trial and error. The process of parenting by men is not highly valued in our society and absorbs little of his life preparation. Parenting is considered woman's main function. She is expected to absorb the values and expectations of society's definition of motherhood. The lack of training is highly conducive to her feeling of insecurity and instability in her role of wife and mother. A man, however, is trained by institutions in society for his full-time economic functioning. His job is his main identity, and this is validated by the society. His training tends to give him a stronger self-image and a sense of competency, and therefore a modicum of security of position in the society.

In this unit you will find several sources of information devoted to exploring the economic contributions made by full-time workers in the home and activities of research and inquiry into appropriate ways of including women workers in the home into the total scheme of our economy. Dr. John Kenneth Galbraith's views on the topic are summarized on the following page:

¹ Mary Louise McBee and Kathryn A. Blake (eds.), *The American Woman: Who Will She Be?* (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1974), pp. 81-82.

² *Man's World, Woman's Place* (New York: Wm. Morrow & Co., 1971), p. 153.

The test of success in modern economic society is the annual rate of increase in Gross National Product. At least until recent times, this test was unquestioned: a successful society was the one with a large annual increase in output, and the most successful society was the one with the largest increase.

Increasing production, in turn, strongly reflects the needs of the dominant economic interest. . .i.e.--the modern large corporation.

Economic growth requires manpower, capital, and materials for increased production. It also requires increased consumption, and if population is relatively stable, this must be increased through per-capita consumption (or presumably through export.) An economic truth scarcely mentioned is that: just as the production of goods and services requires management, so does their consumption. This--is the vital function that women have now been induced to perform.

Were women unavailable for this task, an upper limit would be set on consumption by the administrative task involved. At some point, it would become too time-consuming, too burdensome, as it does for the bachelor of either sex, who leads a comparatively simple existence--often an urban one as opposed to a suburban one.

There is an avoidance in our economic setup of any accounting of the housewife's contribution to the economy. If her toil is not serious, but merely an incidental to the enjoyment of consumption, then its value should not be measured. And if something isn't measured, it usually isn't noticed. To include the contribution of housewives in the GNP--where it would be a very large item--would be to invite further thought on the nature of the service rendered. Some women would wonder if the service was one they wished to render. To keep these matters out of the realm of statistics is also to keep them innocuously in the domain of the family.

The family is both the justification and the disguise for the economic function of women.

...were women to see and understand how they are used, there would be a considerable change in lifestyles....

What is now seen as a moral compulsion--the diligent and intelligent administration of the family consumption--is, in fact, a service to economic interest. So seen, the moral compulsion disappears. For women to see how they are now used is to see that they need not be used. To see that they serve purposes not their own is to see that they can serve purposes that are their own.³

The results of women being poorly paid members of the work force or totally out of the paid work force has dire results for older women. Ralph Nader has hit upon some of these results:

³ "How the Economy Hangs on Her Apron Strings," *Ms.*, II (May 1974), 74-77, 112.

Our society encourages a woman, sometimes against her will, to stay home and take care of her family, and then penalizes her later for not having worked. Under the present law, a wife can receive only a portion of her husband's Social Security benefit if he dies (82.5%), yet he receives 100% of their benefits if he outlives his wife. Widows are regularly excluded from pension benefits their husbands have earned (due to restrictive conditions attached and unknown by the husband).

Women who do work feel the full impact of discriminatory wage scales and hiring practices when they retire. (Since Social Security benefits are based largely on earnings and women earn on an average of 59% of men--the income after retirement is that much less.)

Workingwomen in private industry are far less likely than men to be covered by a pension. They are more often employed by small firms without pension plans and are the first to be laid off. When they take maternity or any leave of absence, they lose the years of "continuous service" necessary to qualify for benefits. One woman worked for the same industry (and union) 49 years; yet because of a five-year period when she was forced to change jobs, she was denied a pension when she reached 65. Currently, less than 10 percent of all unmarried retired women workers are beneficiaries of private pensions.

One in seven unmarried women over 65 works to survive.

Life insurance policies are no guarantee of an adequate income. More than 90 percent of all policies paid beneficiaries \$10,000 or less. (Note: Insurance figures show that cash benefits of such policies are used up within two years.)⁴

Dr. Margaret Benston has focused on this situation in the following terms:

In sheer quantity, household labor, including child care, constitutes a huge amount of socially necessary production. Nevertheless, in a society based on commodity production, it is not usually considered "real work" since it is outside of trade and the market place. It is pre-capitalist in a very real sense. The assignment of household work as the function of a special category "women" means that this group *does* stand in a different relation to production than the group "men." We will tentatively define women, then, as that group of people who are responsible for the production of simple use-values in those activities associated with the home and family.

The material basis for the inferior status of women is to be found in just this definition of work. In a society in which money determines value, women are a group who work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore valueless, is therefore not even real work. And women themselves, who do this valueless work, can hardly be expected to be worth as much as men, who work for money. In structural terms, the closest thing to the condition of women is the condition of others who are or were also outside of commodity production, i.e., serfs and peasants.⁵

⁴ "How You Lose Money by Being a Woman," *McCall's*, January 1972, pp. 65, 148.

⁵ "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," *Monthly Review*, September 1969, pp. 13-27.

Objectives

1. The student will realize that women comprise a growing share of the work force, but lag further behind men in pay, by reading and interpreting graphs and charts dealing with women workers, occupations, salaries, and status and forming hypotheses on the data.
2. The student will be able to demonstrate a knowledge of the economic value of the unpaid contributions to GNP by American housewives following re-search totaling work performed by an individual housewife.
3. The students, female in particular, will ask for passes to see their counselors to reevaluate their marital and work-life planning.

ACTIVITY I. WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

Have students study Charts I, II, III, IV, and V. What trends are evidenced by these charts? (See pages 296-298.)

- A. Most women work because of economic necessity.
 - 1. A common current myth states that women work after kids have gone to school, for pin money, a second TV set, and to put children through college.
 - 2. According to Chart I, why do women actually work?
- B. The proportion of women workers over 45 is rising.
 - 1. The myth says that young women work until they marry and/or bear children and then leave the work force permanently.
 - 2. What hypothesis can students make about the ages of women workers between the years of 1940, 1950, 1968?
- C. Labor force participation rates of women have risen according to years of school completed.
 - 1. The myth says that it is a waste for women to go on to higher education because most women will get married and the education will just be wasted.
 - 2. Have students write a hypothesis based on the years of schooling and woman's probable participation in the work force, using figures in Chart III.
 - 3. Peanuts cartoon--Sally says, "I don't want to do anything important in my life. All I want to do when I grow up is to get married and be a good wife and mother. Why should I go to kindergarten?"
- D. Women progressed more rapidly than men in relative growth of the labor force by sex, 1947-68, according to Chart V.
 - 1. What hypotheses can students make from the data presented here?
 - 2. From what they know of the development of the country what reasons can they provide to explain their hypotheses?

ACTIVITY II. CHANGES IN LIVING PATTERNS

A. Chart on changing life styles (page 299)

1. These charts are based on life expectancy rates.
2. How do women's roles change as the life expectancy changes? What do students project for their lives? What can they project for people living in the year 2000? How will they prepare for their years after their children leave home?

B. Fact sheet on women workers (page 300)

1. Use in conjunction with chart on changing life styles.
2. Read and discuss both, answering questions already posed.

ACTIVITY III. JOBS AND PAY, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY?

- A. Fact sheets on the earnings gap and San Diego County entry level positions (pages 301-308)
1. Fact Sheet II is a fairly long document, but it covers the entire field of employment nicely. We would advise you to hand out the entire fact sheet, give students time to look it over, and then analyze what each chart means. Ask each student to write out a hypothesis for each chart. When completed, discuss what this information means to each student, male and female. Try to come to a consensus of why this situation exists.
 2. Study the list of entry level jobs. Indicate with a few examples which jobs are typically filled by young women, those typically filled by young men. Note the salary difference (if any). How do those choices made at the entry level (first job choice) by men and women with equivalent skills explain the divergence of salary scales projected in the comparison chart of median monthly salaries (Fact Sheet III. B.)? Teacher should help students realize that in the job market women collectively earn less than men collectively, and less than any group of ethnic men. Note that in III. A. the divergence becomes more obvious; the higher the salary range, the fewer the women; the lower the salary range, the more women. The reverse is true of men. The chart should be read horizontally: e.g., 92.9% of all the people hired above salary range \$1,801 are men; 7.1% hired above that range are women.
- B. Based on information in the above activity, ask each student to write a short paragraph describing a composite picture of the average working woman today. Ask students to include age, marital status, income, occupation, race.

ACTIVITY IV. "THE SONG OF THE SHIRT"

- A. Have students read excerpts from *Ms.* article (page 309).
- B. Ask class to draw parallel between working women in the last century and the composite picture which they derived from the previous activities.

ACTIVITY V. THE MYTH AND THE REALITY (PAGE 312)

- A. Prepare role-playing directions covering the myths listed in this bulletin. Try to involve as many students as possible in this activity. Example:
A woman's place is in the home. Daughter tries to explain to father why she wants to train for a job. Father is unable to understand why this is necessary, as she will undoubtedly marry and live happily ever after. Mother attempts to interject her ideas; she is bored at home and would like to work, but father will not let her. Let your imagination roam in devising these role-playing activities.
- B. For students who do not wish to participate in role-playing an alternative would be to find cartoons, quote TV commercials, programs, ads-- depicting reality or myth side of the question.

ACTIVITY VI. WOMAN AS HOUSEWIFE

A. Have students read:

1. "Unpaid Housewives" (page 315)
2. "The Wife as Hired Help" (page 316)
3. "Almost All Agree: Women Marrying Should Know Their Rights" (page 319)
4. "Pensions for Mothers Promised by France" (page 323)
5. "Alliance for Displaced Homemakers" (page 324)
6. "Aid for Displaced Homemakers" (page 325)

B. Take a few minutes and discuss what the GNP is and how it is determined.

C. Present articles "Unpaid Housewives" and "The Wife as Hired Help." Ask students to read, discuss in class, and keep time chart of activities of a housewife of their acquaintance who does not employ outside help, tabulating what she would receive in weekly paycheck for her services based on the figures given in articles.

D. Have students read "Almost All Agree." Ask them, "Do you favor a handbook on the legal status of married women and men given with the marriage license? What facts and information would you want in it?"

E. Have students read "Pensions for Mothers Promised by France" and "Aid to Displaced Homemakers."

1. What remedies would be provided by these ideas? Which questions raised by earlier articles in this section do these proposals attempt to address? Is the work of a housewife a job that should receive financial compensation?
2. Ask the students to comment on this statement from the article, "Housewives should be paid according to their time, based on the state's minimum wage. If the marriage were dissolved, the amount earned would be given the woman as 'severance pay.'"
3. Based on this article and other fact sheets presented in this unit students will write a handbook outlining the facts and information they feel every person, particularly a woman, should know upon getting married.

CHART I

(ACTIVITY I)

The low earnings of women workers cannot be brushed aside as of no concern. Women are working to support themselves; women are working to support children; women are working to support families. Economic need is imperative for most of the women in the work force today.

Women in the Labor Force
Selected Years, 1900-72

Year	Women in Labor Force (thousands)	Women in Labor Force as percent of	
		Total Labor Force	All Women of Working Age
1900	5,114	18.1	20.4
1910	7,889	20.9	25.2
1920	8,430	20.4	23.3
1930	10,679	22.0	24.3
1940	12,845	24.3	25.4
1950	18,412	28.8	33.9
1960	23,272	32.3	37.8
1970	31,560	36.7	43.4
1972	33,320	37.4	43.8

Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics

CHART II
(ACTIVITY I)

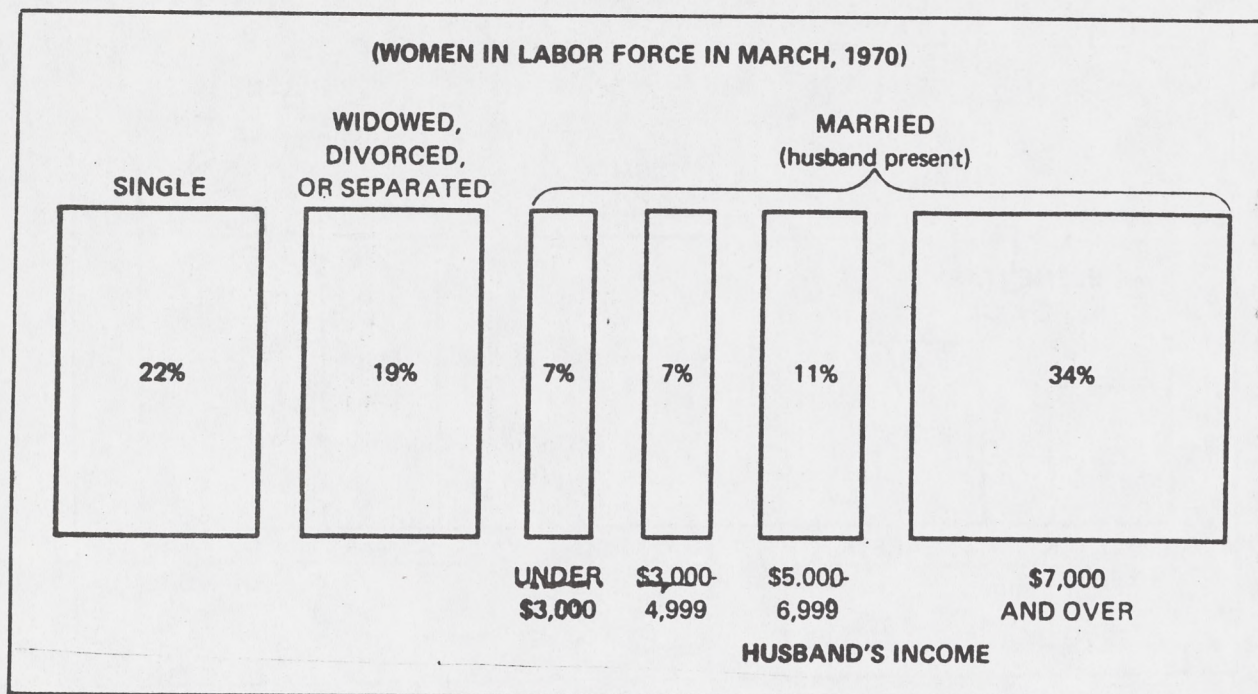
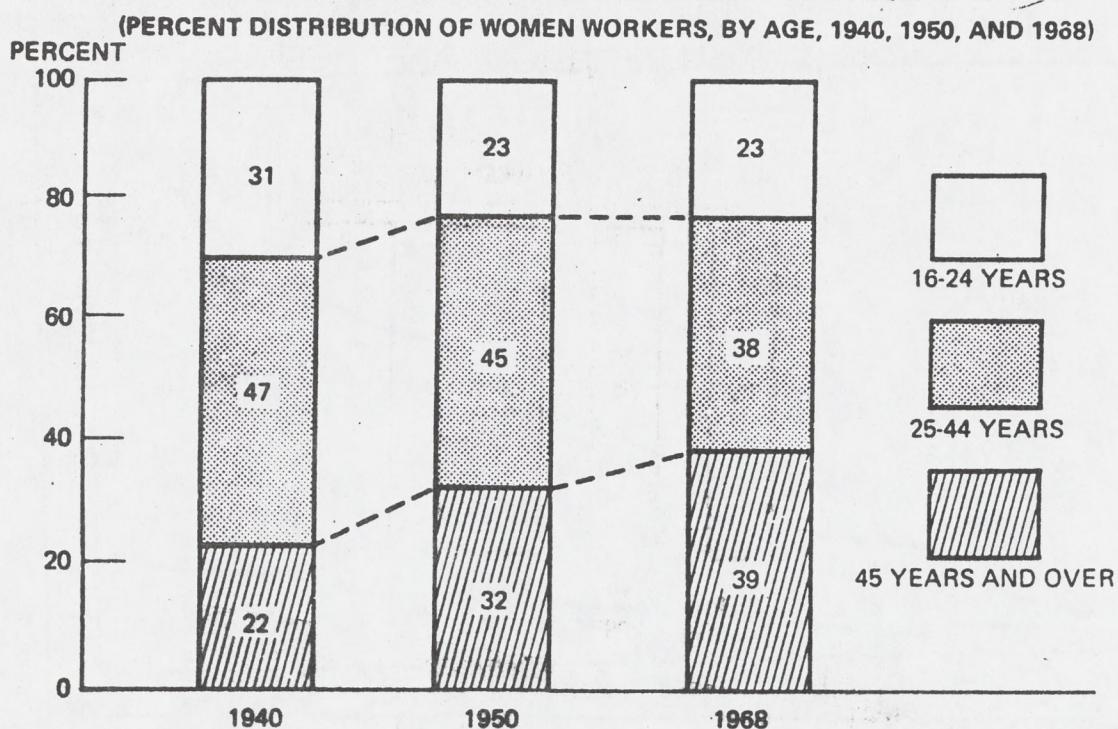


CHART III
(ACTIVITY I)



Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics

CHART IV
(ACTIVITY I)

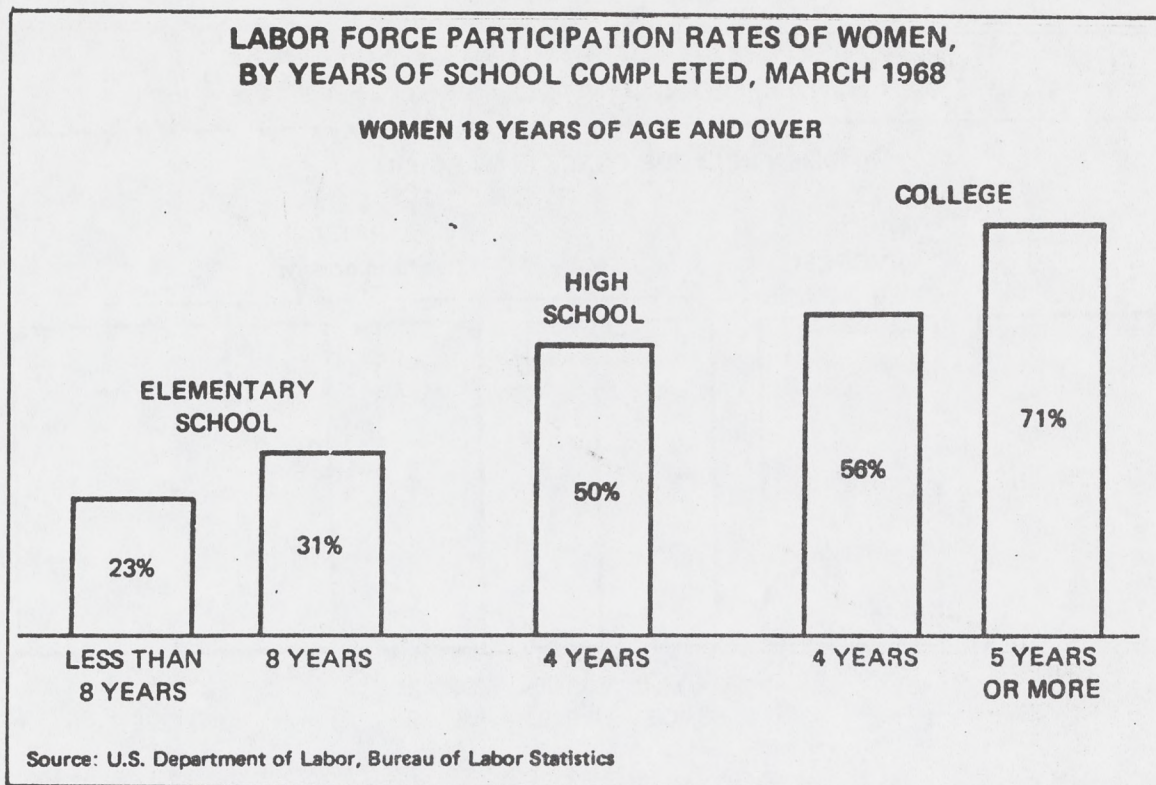
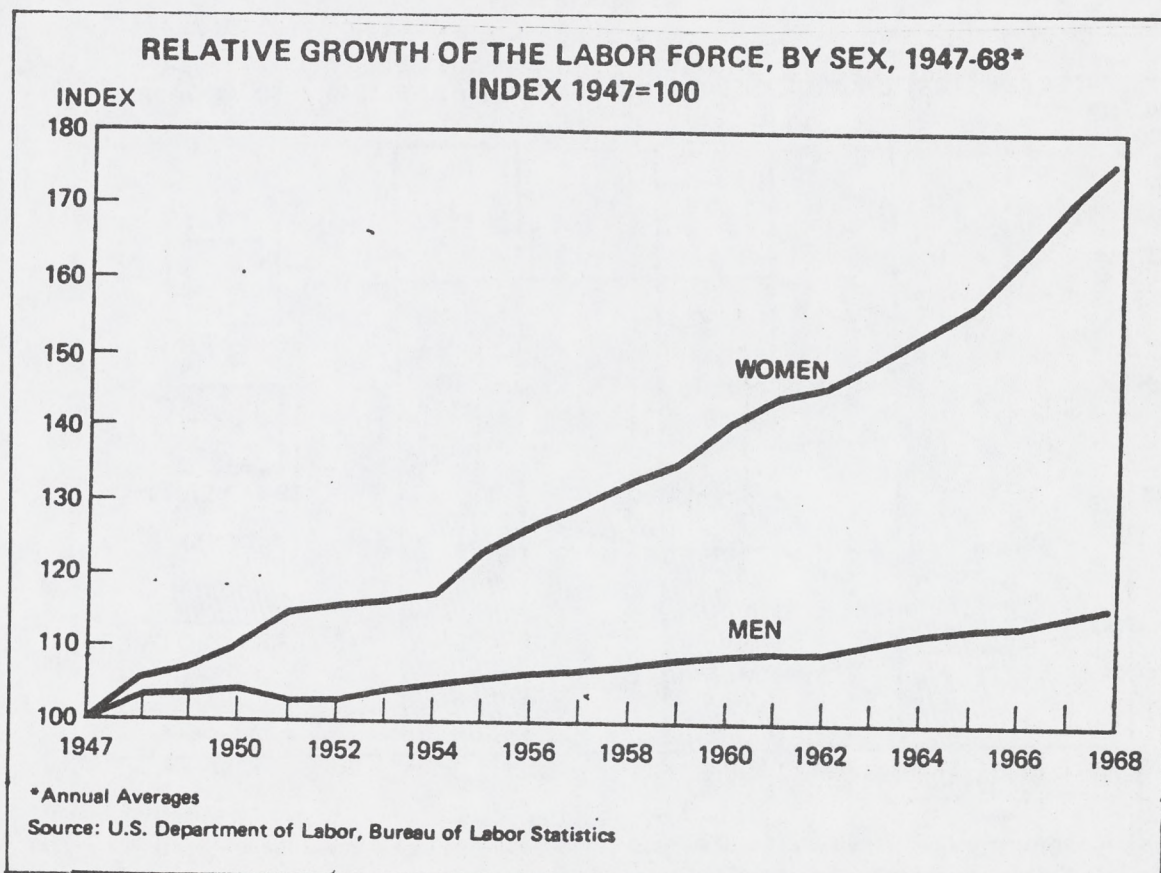


CHART V
(ACTIVITY I)



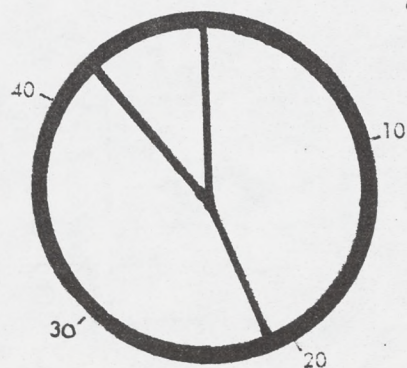
CHANGING LIFE STYLES

YESTERDAY

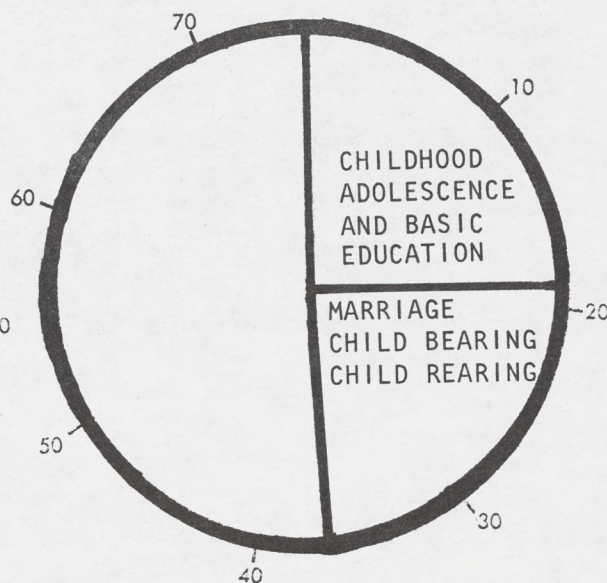
TODAY

TOMORROW

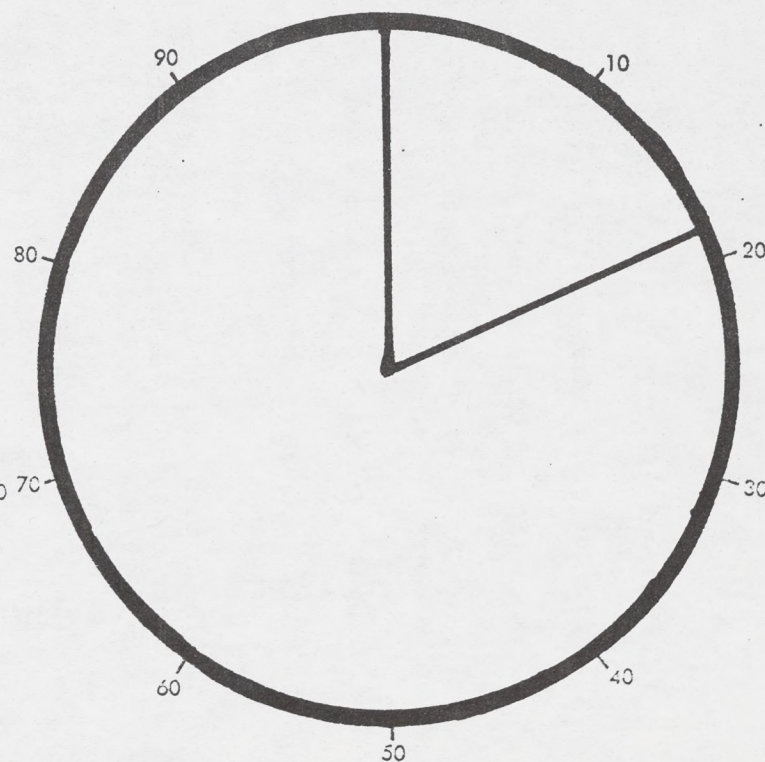
1900
48 YEARS



1970
75 YEARS



2000
100 YEARS



(ACTIVITY II)

CHART VI

FACT SHEET I
(ACTIVITY II)

Facts About Women Workers

1. Nine out of 10 girls will work at some time in their lives.
2. Six out of 10 girls will work 25 years or over.
3. More than 33 million women are in the labor force; they constitute nearly two-fifths of all workers. Some 4 million women of minority races are in the labor force; they constitute more than two-fifths of all minority workers.
4. About one-fourth of all women workers hold part-time jobs.
5. Women accounted for three-fifths of the increase in the civilian labor force in the last decade.
6. The number of working mothers (women with children under 18) has increased more than eightfold since 1940. They now number 12.7 million, an increase of 3.9 million in the last decade.
7. The 4.4 million working mothers with children under 6 in 1972 had 5.6 million children under 6; the estimated number of licensed day care places is 905,000.
8. Unemployment was lowest for white adult males (3.6%) and highest for minority teen-age girls (38.6%) in 1972.

White adult women	4.9%
Minority adult men	6.8
Minority adult women	8.8
White teen-age boys	14.2
White teen-age girls	14.2
Minority teen-age boys	29.8
9. About 1 out of 9 families is headed by a woman; almost 2 out of 5 poor families* are headed by a woman. About 3 out of 10 black families are headed by a woman; almost 3 out of 5 poor black families are headed by a woman.
10. Of the workers not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) 40% are women. Fifty-seven percent of all black women workers are not covered by FLSA; the comparable percentage for white women is 22%.

* Classified as poor were those nonfarm families of 4 with total income of less than \$4,100 in 1971.

FACT SHEET II
(ACTIVITY III)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS ADMINISTRATION
WOMEN'S BUREAU
Washington, D. C. 20210

FACT SHEET ON THE EARNINGS GAP

Woman who work at full-time jobs the year around earn, on the average, only \$3 for every \$5 earned by similarly employed men. The ratio varies slightly from year to year, but the gap is greater than it was 15 years ago. From 64 percent in 1955, women's median wage or salary income as a proportion of men's fell to 61 percent by 1959 and 1960 and since then has fluctuated between 58 and 60 percent. Women's median earnings of \$5,323 in 1970 were 59 percent of the \$8,966 received by men.

Median Earnings of Full-Time Year-Round Workers,^{1/}
by Sex, 1955-70^{2/}

Year	Median earnings		Women's median earnings as percent of men's
	Women	Men	
1970-----	\$5,323	\$8,966	59.4
1969-----	4,977	8,227	60.5
1968-----	4,457	7,664	58.2
1967-----	4,150	7,182	57.8
1966-----	3,973	6,848	58.0
1965-----	3,823	6,375	60.0
1964-----	3,690	6,195	59.6
1963-----	3,561	5,978	59.6
1962-----	3,446	5,794	59.5
1961-----	3,351	5,644	59.4
1960-----	3,293	5,417	60.8
1959-----	3,193	5,209	61.3
1958-----	3,102	4,927	63.0
1957-----	3,008	4,713	63.8
1956-----	2,827	4,466	63.3
1955-----	2,719	4,252	63.9

^{1/} Worked 35 hours or more a week for 50 to 52 weeks.

^{2/} Data for 1967-70 are not strictly comparable with those for prior years, which are for wage and salary income only and do not include earnings of self-employed persons.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-60.

The gap in earnings varies by major occupation group. It was largest in 1970 for sales workers (women earned only 43 percent of what men earned) and smallest for professional and technical workers (women earned 67 percent of what men earned). Wage or salary incomes of women in relationship to those of men were somewhat higher in 1970 than in 1969 for managerial workers, sales workers, and professional workers, but lower for service workers outside the home.

Median Wage or Salary Income of Full-Time Year-Round Workers,
by Sex and Selected Major Occupation Group, 1970

Major occupation group	Median wage or salary income		Women's median wage or salary income as percent of men's
	Women	Men	
Professional and technical workers-----	\$7,878	\$11,806	66.7
Nonfarm managers, officials, and proprietors-----	6,834	12,117	56.4
Clerical workers-----	5,551	8,617	64.4
Sales workers-----	4,188	9,790	42.8
Operatives-----	4,510	7,623	59.2
Service workers (except private household)-----	3,953	6,955	56.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-60, No. 80.

Another measure of the gap in the earnings of women and men full-time year-round workers is a distribution of these workers by earnings levels. For example, 12 percent of the women but only 5 percent of the men earned less than \$3,000 in 1970. Moreover, 45 percent of the women but only 14 percent of the men earned less than \$5,000. At the upper end of the scale, only 7 percent of the women but 40 percent of the men had earnings of \$10,000 or more.

Earnings of Full-Time Year-Round Workers, by Sex, 1970

Earnings	Women	Men
Number with earnings-----	15,476,000	36,132,000
Percent distribution-----	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Less than \$3,000-----	12.2	5.1
\$3,000 to \$4,999-----	32.5	8.8
\$5,000 to \$6,999-----	29.2	16.2
\$7,000 to \$9,999-----	19.3	30.1
\$10,000 to \$14,999-----	5.9	26.5
\$15,000 and over-----	1.1	13.5

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-60, No. 80.

The educational background of a worker often determines not only the type of work but also the level of job within an occupation for which he or she can qualify. However, women who work full time the year round earn substantially less than similarly employed men who have the same amount of education. Among workers who had completed only grade school or 1 to 3 years of high school, women's incomes in 1970 were only 55 percent of men's. Among those who had 5 years or more of college, the proportion was 65 percent.

Median Income in 1970 of Full-Time Year-Round Workers by Sex and Years of School Completed (Persons 25 years of age and over)

Years of school completed	Median income		Women's median income as percent of men's
	Women	Men	
Elementary school:			
Less than 8 years-----	\$3,798	\$6,043	62.8
8 years-----	4,181	7,535	55.5
High school:			
1-3 years-----	4,655	8,514	54.7
4 years-----	5,580	9,567	58.3
College:			
1-3 years-----	6,604	11,183	59.1
4 years-----	8,156	13,264	61.5
5 years or more-----	9,581	14,747	65.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-60, No. 80.

The previous figures do not necessarily indicate that women are receiving unequal pay for equal work. For the most part, they reflect the fact that women are more likely than men to be employed in low-skilled, low-paying jobs. For example:

In public elementary and secondary schools, women were less than 20 percent of the principals; superintendents; deputy, associate, and assistant superintendents; and other central office administrators in 1970-71.

Among professional and technical workers in business, women are concentrated in the class B and class C computer programmer positions, while men are more frequently employed in the higher paying class A positions. Similarly, women are usually in the lowest category of draftsmen and engineering technicians.

Among managers and proprietors, women frequently operate small retail establishments, while men may manage manufacturing plants or wholesale outlets.

In the manufacturing of men's and boys' suits and coats, women are likely to be employed as hand finishers, thread trimmers and basting pullers, and sewing machine operators--jobs where their average hourly earnings are less than \$2.70--while men are likely to be employed as finish pressers (hand or machine), underpressers, cutters, and markers--with average hourly earnings of \$3.50 to \$4.25.

In the service occupations, women are likely to be cooks, nurses' aides, and waitresses, while men are likely to be employed in higher paying jobs as bartenders, guards, custodians, firemen, policemen, and detectives.

Nevertheless, within some of these detailed occupations, men usually are better paid. For example, Bureau of Labor Statistics surveys of earnings in major office occupations showed that during the period July 1969 to June 1970 men's average weekly earnings were substantially higher than those of women among class A and class B accounting and payroll clerks. The weekly salary differentials between women and men class A accounting clerks ranged from \$6.50 to \$42.50 in 60 of the important centers of business and industry surveyed.

Median salaries of women scientists in 1970 were from \$1,700 to \$5,100 less than those of men in the same fields. The greatest gap was in the field of chemistry, where the median annual salary of women was \$10,500 as compared with \$15,600 for men. Additional details are given in the following table.

Median Salary of Full-Time Employed Civilian Scientists,
by Sex and Field, 1970

Field	Median salary		Women's median salary as percent of men's
	Women	Men	
All fields-----	\$11,600	\$15,200	76.3
Chemistry-----	10,500	15,600	67.3
Earth and marine sciences----	10,500	15,000	70.0
Atmospheric and space sciences-----	13,000	15,200	85.5
Physics-----	12,000	16,000	75.0
Mathematics-----	10,000	15,000	66.7
Computer sciences-----	13,200	16,900	78.1
Agricultural sciences-----	9,400	12,800	73.4
Biological sciences-----	11,000	15,500	71.0
Psychology-----	13,000	15,500	83.9
Statistics-----	14,000	17,100	81.9
Economics-----	13,400	16,500	81.2
Sociology-----	11,000	13,500	81.5
Anthropology-----	12,300	15,000	82.0
Political science-----	11,000	13,500	81.5
Linguistics-----	11,300	13,000	86.9

Source: National Science Foundation: "National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel." 1970.

The jobs and salaries expected to be offered by 191 companies to June 1971 college graduates were reported in a survey conducted in November 1970. Salaries to be offered to women were consistently below those to be offered to men with the same college major. A comparison with 1970, however, shows a marked reduction in the spread between salaries for women and men. For 1970 the monthly gap ranged from \$86 down to \$18; for 1971 the gap ranged from \$68 down to only \$1 in engineering. These figures do not indicate that different salaries are being offered to women and men hired by the same company for the same job, but are averages of offers by all companies planning to employ graduates in that field.

Average Starting Monthly Salary for June 1970 and 1971 College
Graduates, by Sex and Selected Field

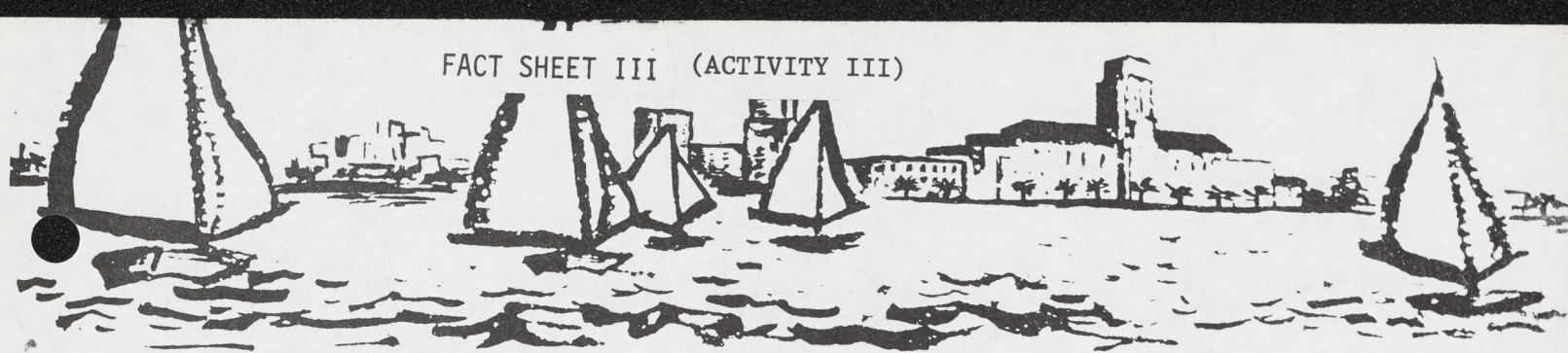
Field	1971		1970	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Accounting-----	\$793	\$845	\$746	\$832
Chemistry-----	812	826	765	806
Economics, finance-----	<u>1/700</u>	768	700	718
Engineering-----	884	885	844	872
Liberal Arts-----	688	690	631	688
Mathematics, statistics-----	776	806	746	773

1/ Average based on only six companies planning to employ women.

Source: Endicott, Frank S., Dr.: "Trends in Employment of College and University Graduates in Business and Industry." Northwestern University. 24th Annual Report, December 1969; 25th Annual Report December 1970.

* * * * *

Federal legislation requires equal pay for equal work and prohibits sex discrimination in employment by covered employers, labor unions, and employment agencies. In addition to enforcement of these laws, equality of earnings for qualified men and women will require an expansion of the occupational opportunities for women. Because it is good business to make the most efficient use of available labor resources, it would be highly advantageous for employers to reconsider their recruitment, on-the-job training, and promotion policies with a view toward giving well-qualified and talented women the opportunity to move into more of the better paying jobs than they now hold.



SAN DIEGO COUNTY EMPLOYMENT

ENTRY LEVEL POSITIONS
HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA (OR LESS) NO EXPERIENCE REQUIRED

POSITION	APPROXIMATE MONTHLY
Agricultural Technician Aid	\$ 706.00
Animal Regulation Officer I	692.00
Appraiser Technician	652.00
Assistant Park Ranger	725.00
Assistant Transportation Officer	715.00
Branch Library Aid I	523.00
Child Care Aid	546.00
County Aid I	518.00
Custodian II	608.00
Deputy Marshall	1,039.00
Deputy Marshall-Cadet	633.00
Deputy Marshall-Matron	1,039.00
Deputy Sheriff	1,039.00
Drafting Aid	626.00
Engineering Aid	838.00
Food Services Worker	495.00
Grounds Gardener	641.00
Homemaker I	518.00
Junior Clerk Typist	516.00
Junior Stenographer	551.00
Laboratory Aid	530.00
Laundry Worker I	498.00
Library Page	380.00
Lifeguard I	647.00
Mail Clerk Driver	648.00
Parking lot Attendant	526.00
Planning Aid I	631.00
Probation Assistant I	657.00
Print Shop Helper	544.00
Public Works Trainee	706.00
Refuse Disposal fee Collector	680.00
Sheriffs Bailiff	941.00
Sheriffs Cadet	633.00
Laundry Worker III	620.00

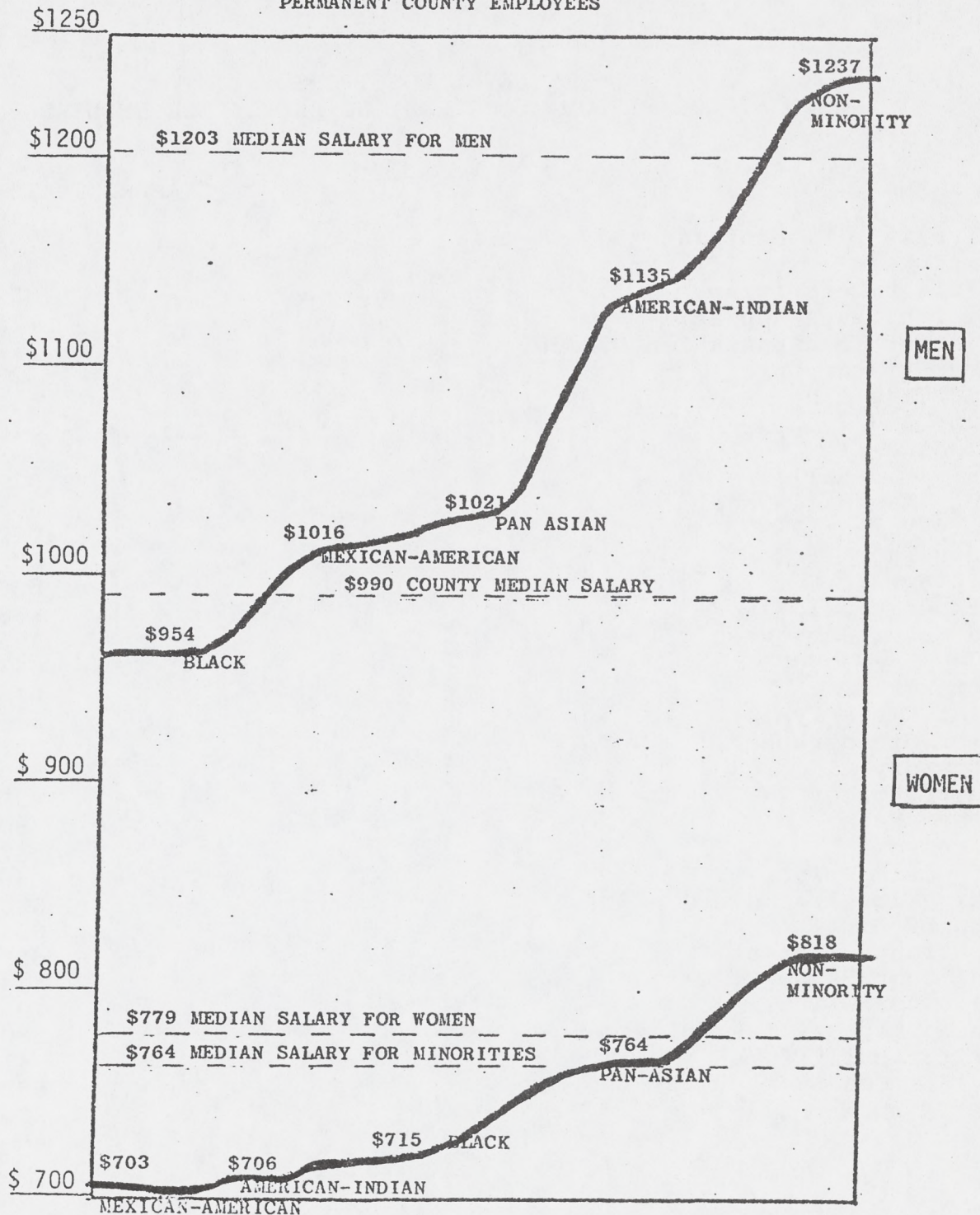
III. A.

MONTHLY SALARY RANGE

	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	
\$418 to \$679	184	14.4	1097	85.6	1281
\$680 to \$978	1256	34.4	2393	65.6	3649
\$979 to \$1410	2315	67.5	1115	32.5	3430
\$1411 to \$1801	931	81.3	214	18.7	1145
Over \$1801	368	92.9	28	7.1	396
TOTALS	5054		4847		9901

III. B.

COMPARISON CHART OF MEDIAN MONTHLY SALARIES
PERMANENT COUNTY EMPLOYEES



(Report AA04-4409-1 - 6/25/75)

Excerpts from "The Song of the Shirt"

"During the 19th century the Singer Sewing Machine has added countless hours to women's leisure for rest and refinement, it has opened new avenues for her employment, and it has brought comforts which were formerly attainable to few within the reach of all."

--Early Singer Advertisement

Before the Industrial Revolution and labor-saving machinery, a woman's home was her factory. Working 12 or more hours a day, colonial women manufactured household products from the raw materials the men brought in. They were domestic slaves, old at 30. In a divorce-less age some men used up as many as three wives; they just wore out. Men's drudgery was relieved by their sitting down to a meal cooked by women and by wearing clothes that had been sewn by women. There were few jobs for spinsters, and the normal route out of a father's house was through marriage or prostitution. Possessing neither money nor an education, many looked forward to the state of widowhood as an ideal one.

When the poorer women left their homes to earn a few extra pennies, they merely extended their sphere of domesticity. They did bits of sewing and knitting, made hats, shoes, or cloth. This piecework, done in the home, became the forerunner of the "sweated" system.

An English import, the system hinged on a middleman, called the sweater, who contracted with the manufacturer for a certain number of finished garments and employed five or more operators (the sweated) to sew them. The operators went to the dealer's workroom and staggered back carrying bundles of cut material on which they worked for 12 to 16 hours a day, shut up together in airless, sunless rooms. They could earn about 30 cents a day, while the sweater, or "slop shop" contractor, picked up \$1.50 a day for doing nothing. Those who sweated never knew exactly what their wages would be, and if they thought the price of piecework too small, the sweater could easily find others to replace them. Men and women did it; children did it; whole families did it. But, for the women, it was the only skill they had.

In the factory they did exactly the same work they had done at home. They sewed. They made cloth, clothes, hats, shoes, and because the work could also be done at home, the trade was always overcrowded and underpaid. Then--as now--the wage differential was enormous. Sarah Grimke wrote in 1837, "...in tailoring, a man has twice or three times as much for making a waistcoat or pantaloons as a woman, although the work done by each may be equally good. In those employments which are peculiar to women, their time is estimated at half the value of that of men.A working mother who sewed at home averaged about \$36.40 a year. Without children she averaged \$58.60 a year. If she sewed without stopping from sunrise to 10 or 11 o'clock at night without any interruptions for sickness or family care or anything else, her reward was \$1.50 a week, or \$78 a year. (A journeyman machinist made \$9 a week.) In the factory she and her children worked 12 to 16 hours a day with time off for two meals--breakfast and dinner.

The Civil War removed the main source of income from thousands of families and pushed more women into the factories. With only their sewing to offer they were desperate for work, and their desperation was taken full advantage of. Through

* Ms., I (October 1972): 65-70.

the system of subcontracting, a variation of the sweatshop, they earned enough to starve. In 1865 a group of them petitioned President Lincoln: "We are unable to sustain life for the price offered by contractors, who fatten on their contracts by grinding immense profits out of the labor of their operatives. As an example, these contractors are paid \$1.75 each for making gray woolen shirts, and they require us to make them for \$1 per dozen...." At that time calico was going for 50 cents a yard, coffee for \$1 a pound, and a pair of gloves at Macy's cost \$1.

The sewing maching--"woman's best friend"--was invented in 1790, but it didn't come into popular use until shortly before the Civil War, when Isaac Singer, who designed the foot treadle and added to the practicality of the machine, marketed it..... Although he was not the first to build a sewing machine, Singer seems to have been the first man to become aware of the lot of the "weary seamstress."Idealists said women would be free for "cultural activities," and at the same time they discussed in glowing terms the benefits of the new leisure on a growing male child.

Middle-class women certainly did benefit from the machine, and so did their sewing girls, and eventually cheap factory-made clothes were available to everyone. Singer, who called the machine a "boon to womankind," proceeded to invent the installment plan to promote sales. By 1879 the company had sold 6 million machines. Many single women signed their own contracts (a privilege not available to many single women today) to buy \$100 machines for \$5 down and payments of \$1, \$2, or \$3 a month.....

But thousands of working women were living in poverty, while the men who owned the factories fought all efforts at reform. Some shops locked their doors, probably to keep the women from going on strike. Hundreds of them, jammed together in stifling rooms, were divided into small competing sewing teams under the control of the male sweater, who haggled with the manufacturer for work. They were subjected to petty humiliations, such as having to file singly past a guard with their pocketbooks open as they left. If they didn't come to work on Sunday, they were told, they needn't bother to show up on Monday. Foremen moved back the hands of the clock when they weren't watching so that when it was six, the clock said five. Shops were housed in filthy old buildings, crusted with years of grime, their windows nailed shut. It was always dark. Many of these "huddled masses yearning to be free" ended up choking and coughing themselves to death. Tuberculosis was the disease of the age, and the air in the sweatshops, a deadly mixture of dust and moisture, encouraged its growth and spread.

The women, who had the choice of sewing or walking the streets (and many of them chose the latter), were forced to accept whatever treatment was handed out to them. Sometimes their wages were withheld, and they had no redress. They were fined if their stitches were crooked or if they stained the goods with machine oil or if they talked or laughed or sang. As late as 1906 they were charged 50 cents a week for the use of machines and electricity, 5 cents a week for the use of a mirror and towel, and 5 cents a week for drinking water.

The "boon to womankind" had left them exactly where they were before. In a burst of paternalistic idealism Singer had guaranteed profits of \$5 to \$6 a day to "Journeymen, Tailors, Seamstresses, Employers, and all others interested in

sewing of any description," but the seamstresses and tailors never came anywhere near that figure. In 1884 bustle-makers in Boston, working from 8:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., were earning 25 cents a dozen--a day's output. Men did better. In the 1880s a cloak-maker got \$1 for making a seal-plush cloak that sold for \$75. One cloak was a full day's work for an expert male operator.

FACT SHEET IV

(ACTIVITY V)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS ADMINISTRATION
WOMEN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210



THE MYTH AND THE REALITY

The Myth

A woman's place is in the home.

Women aren't seriously attached to the labor force; they work only for extra pocket money.

Women are out ill more than male workers; they cost the company more.

The Reality

Homemaking in itself is no longer a full-time job for most people. Goods and services formerly produced in the home are now commercially available; laborsaving devices have lightened or eliminated much work around the home.

Today more than half of all women between 18 and 64 years of age are in the labor force, where they are making a substantial contribution to the growth of the Nation's economy. Studies show that 9 out of 10 girls will work outside the home at some time in their lives.

Of the 33 million women in the labor force in March 1972, nearly half were working because of pressing economic need. They were either single, widowed, divorced, or separated or had husbands whose incomes were less than \$3,000 a year. Another 5.1 million had husbands with incomes between \$3,000 and \$7,000--incomes which, by and large, did not meet the criteria established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for even a low standard of living for an urban family of four.

A recent Public Health Service study shows little difference in the absentee rate due to illness or injury: 5.9 days a year for women compared with 5.0 for men. Absenteeism and turnover rates depend on the nature of the job rather than the sex of the jobholder.

Women don't work as long or as regularly as their male coworkers; their training is costly--and largely wasted.

Married women take jobs away from men; in fact, they ought to quit those jobs they now hold.

Women should stick to "women's jobs" and shouldn't compete for "men's jobs."

Although some but not all women leave work for marriage and children, a majority of those who leave return when their children are in school. Despite this break in employment, the average woman worker has a work-life expectancy of 25 years as compared with 43 years for the average male worker. The single woman averages 45 years in the labor force.

Studies on labor turnover indicate that net differences for men and women are generally small. In manufacturing industries the 1968 rates of accessions per 100 employees were 4.4 for men and 5.3 for women; the respective separation rates were 4.4 and 5.2.

There were 19.2 million married women (husband present) in the labor force in March 1972; the number of unemployed men was 3.1 million. If all the married women stayed home and unemployed men were placed in their jobs, there would be 16.1 million unfilled jobs.

Moreover, most unemployed men do not have the education or the skill to qualify for many of the jobs held by women, such as secretaries, teachers, and nurses.

Jobs, with extremely rare exceptions, are sexless. Tradition rather than job content has led to labeling certain jobs as women's and others as men's. In measuring 22 inherent aptitudes and knowledge areas, a research laboratory found that there is no sex difference in 14, women excel in 6, and men excel in 2.

Women don't want responsibility on the job; they don't want promotions or job changes which add to their load.

The employment of mothers leads to juvenile delinquency.

Men don't like to work for women supervisors.

Relatively few women have been offered positions of responsibility. But when given these opportunities, women, like men, do cope with job responsibilities in addition to personal or family responsibilities. In 1972, 4.5 million women held professional and technical jobs, another 1.4 million worked as nonfarm managers and administrators. Many others held supervisory jobs at all levels in offices and factories.

Studies show that many factors must be considered when seeking the causes of juvenile delinquency. Whether or not a mother is employed does not appear to be a determining factor.

These studies indicate that it is the quality of a mother's care rather than the time consumed in such care which is of major significance.

Most men who complain about women supervisors have never worked for a woman.

In one study where at least three-fourths of both the male and female respondents (all executives) had worked with women managers, their evaluation of women in management was favorable. On the other hand, the study showed a traditional/cultural bias among those who reacted unfavorably to women as managers.

In another survey in which 41 percent of the reporting firms indicated that they hired women executives, none rated their performance as unsatisfactory; 50 percent rated them adequate; 42 percent rated them the same as their predecessors; and 8 percent rated them better than their predecessors.

Sylvia Porter

Unpaid Housewives *



NEW YORK — If, on this Valentine's Day, 1972, you are a typical "non-jobholding" U.S. housewife, you fill at least 12 well defined occupations valued in the open market at a minimum of \$257.53 a week for an actual pay in dollars of \$000.00.

If you are among the 28,300,000 American women classified as "married, not in the labor force," you put in at least 99.6 hours per week working at these occupations — and frequently many, many more — again, for the dollar pay of \$000.00.

You have no set hours and it's normal for you to start early and stop late. You have no specified schedule for rest. You have no assurance of any vacation worth the name at any time for any duration. You get little, if any, recognition for your job performance as such. It's taken for granted that you'll be good.

As a card-carrying pioneer in the world of women's lib from way back, I have understandably concentrated on the working woman—and our right to equal pay for equal work, equal recognition, equal opportunity, all the rest. In this process I have usually neglected the position of the U.S. housewife.

But in recent months, I have been studying the "non-jobholding" housewives among my friends in the exurb where we have a country home. Without their being aware of my scrutiny, I have checked their performing without any help as cook, chauffeur, seamstress, housekeeper, laundress, etc., etc.

I've watched most of them go to work at 6 a.m. to feed their families before sending them off to the commuting trains or school. And I've watched most of them start another cycle of several hours of work involving dinner and cleanup at 6 p.m., a mere 12 hours later.

What's more, a housewife's work is not only non-paid, it's not even counted in our output as a nation. When I turn out something, I'm paid for my production and my pay is included in our nation's Gross National Product. But when you, a housewife, sew a magnificent dinner skirt, all that counts toward GNP is what you spent for the material, the thread, whatever else you bought. Your labor, without which the skirt would not have come into existence, doesn't count one whit. (If you had hired someone to sew the skirt for you, though, and had paid her, what she earned from you would count.)

Imagine what our GNP would swell to if we counted in just the \$257.53 a week being earned by 28,300,000 women! * *

Here are the figures underlining what the non-jobholding housewife is worth in the marketplace, compiled for me by the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York and based on the going rate of pay in the New York area for the 12 occupations listed.

As nursemaid, the average housewife works 44.5 hours a week which would be worth (at the rate of \$2 per hour) \$89; as housekeeper her average of 17.5 hours a week would be worth (at \$3.25 an hour) \$56.88; as cook, her 13.1 hours a week would be worth (at \$3.25 an hour) \$42.58.

As dishwasher, the average housewife works 6.2 hours a week which would be worth (at \$2 an hour) \$12.40; as laundress, her average of 5.9 hours a week would be worth (at \$2.50 an hour) \$14.75; as food buyer, her 3.3 hours a week would be worth (at \$3.50 an hour) \$11.55; as chauffeur, her 2 hours a week would be worth (at \$3.25 an hour) \$6.50; as gardener, her

*Business and
Financial*
NEWS

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FEBRUARY 14, 1972

2.3 hours a week would be worth (at \$3 an hour) \$6.90.

As maintenance man, the average wife works 1.7 hours a week which would be worth (at \$3 an hour) \$4.22; as dietician, her 1.2 hours a week would be worth (at \$4.50 an hour) \$5.40; and as practical nurse, her 0.6 hours a week would be worth (at \$3.75 an hour) \$2.25.

The total of the 12 occupations performed by an average housewife comes to 99.6 hours a week which (at various rates per hour) would be worth a total of \$257.53 a week.

Even a casual glance reveals how conservative the calculations are—and even a superficial reading must bring to mind other occupations the U.S. housewife routinely performs. In our exurb, for instance, each of these housewives puts in many hours a month acting as hostess — to advance her husband's career as well as to entertain him and their friends. All of them handle the bookkeeping for the house and most of them do paperwork for their husbands as well. And for what pay? The same zero.

* *Charleston Evening Post.*

** \$340 billion would be added to the GNP.

Reprinted, courtesy of the *Charleston Evening Post.*

COLLATERAL READING III
(ACTIVITY VI)

THE WIFE AS HIRED HELP:
WHAT IS SHE REALLY WORTH? *

By Harriet Stix

SAN FRANCISCO--The housewife who turns from finishing the dishes, wipes her hands and says to her husband, "That'll be \$2, please," would probably look more at home in a comic strip than in a real-life kitchen.

Yet the issue of paying a woman for housework has for some time produced much heat and some light in feminist circles. This weekend it will be getting the serious attention of lawyers from all over the country.

Law professors Sylvia Law of the New York University school of law and Nadine Taub of Rutgers University law school have produced an in-depth analysis of the subject, a paper on "The State's Relation to the Possibility of Payment for Work in the Home."

The paper was written for the California Commission on the Status of Women in connection with the National Conference of Women and the Law being held at Stanford law school through Sunday. Profs. Law and Taub will be panelists in workshops at the conference, which is expected to draw 1,200 to 1,500 men and women.

Her Father's Name

Earlier this week, Ms. Law talked about some of the things she has learned while researching the subject. (The idea that the law professor is Prof. Law gives a lot of people a chuckle, but Ms. Law says she comes by the name honestly--"It's my father's name," she says. He's not a lawyer, but her brother is. And her sister-in-law is a law student.)

She says she and Ms. Taub got into the rather explosive area of examining parallels between housework and involuntary servitude. Although she says she "didn't come to any firm conclusions" as to their similarity, she does feel such a line of thought was useful in defining the problem.

"I'd never before thought of housework in these terms," she acknowledges. But the Alice-in-Wonderland issues raised--minimum wages for slaves? contract with master?--did make it clear to her that "what's wrong is the institution."

She points out that "most women are surprised to find that all the domestic obligations are, in fact, theirs.

"Within marriage, women provide services in return for support."

* *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 1975.

Reprinted by permission of Harriet Stix.

Indoor Plumbing Withheld

And sometimes that support may seem obtainable only through a divorce settlement. Ms. Law describes a 1959 case where a wife complained that her skinflint husband refused to provide indoor plumbing and that she had not had a new dress in 10 years or seen a movie in 12.

"The court said," according to Ms. Law, "it was not going to interfere while the couple was still living together."

Nor can a couple agree privately to change the terms of the obligation and expect the court to uphold their contract. Ms. Law cites the example of a woman who agreed to give up her maid if, in return, she could keep the money saved and invest it. When the couple were later divorced, she was forced to give back the money plus what it had earned.

Ms. Law suggests that the presumption that women serve while men support is no longer realistic. More than half the women in this country work. In many homes, men are doing housework (although Ms. Law says it has been established that in general women still do 10 times as much housework as men).

But if the "institution" is brought closer to reality, what in fact, is housework worth? In 1970, Chase Manhattan Bank made a study and came up with the figure of \$13,000 a year. But, as Ms. Law points out: "Since 83% of workers don't make that much, how are they going to pay?" Ms. Law took potshots at one solution after another. For example, some have advocated that husbands should be required to pay a minimum or a fixed amount of their salaries. But then, Ms. Law points out, the poor either couldn't or wouldn't marry.

Others have pointed to England, where the government makes grants for children. It has been suggested that that payment could go to the woman. But Ms. Law believes that if all women were included in a government grant system it would be enormously expensive, while if only the poor are included, it would simply be a form of welfare.

She's not very enthusiastic either about the idea put forward by economist J. Kenneth Galbraith that all housework should be done publicly. Thus there would be mass cafeterias, weekly cleaning services. It sounds a little more like science fiction than fact and Ms. Law complains that actually it would "mandate an unnecessary loss of individual freedom" and be a trade-off in terms of quality. People like to cook to suit their own tastes.

On the other hand, she speculates that if the obligation for service in the home were shared between husband and wife, there would be movement in the direction of more mass services: "Everyone knows that in families where the woman insists on the man doing an equal amount of work, he is suddenly willing to eat out more."

Another solution that has been suggested is that if there were both community property and salary, marriage could then be seen as a partnership. The trouble

with this, according to Ms. Law, is that in most stages the man still retains management and thus control over the property. Besides, she says there is "real importance in people having some resources of their own."

Nor will the Equal Rights Amendment have much, if any, effect on traditional relationships. It won't change the nature of marriage or make it into an equal institution. (This may be reassuring to its opponents, she points out, especially those would have a religious commitment to woman's obligation to serve as a foundation of marriage.)

Then there is the troublesome question of what effect reimbursement for housework would have on the job market for such work as domestic service, day care, non-professional care of the sick. At the moment, Ms. Law points out these are "way down at the bottom of the pay scale, at least in part because many people are required to do them for free."

Since the law says the duty to service is the woman's, the law itself, not just social expectations, must be changed, Ms. Law said. The Woman's movement has been struggling with the problem, and one widely touted solution has been making contracts. But Ms. Law points out that "a contract is elitist. It doesn't help most women. In any case, such contracts are not now enforceable."

What Ms. Law would really like is to "change people's way of thinking by what the law says." People have a right to privacy and she does not suggest any change in terms of interference by the state of enforcement in a legal sense. But she believes that "the underlying assumptions of the law do make a difference, even if they are not enforced."

Thus she says that if the law declared that everybody is required to support himself--that both husband and wife would contribute financially--and that if there were children both parents have an equal obligation to take care of them, it would not mean that every woman would either have to go to work or take on full responsibility in the home.

But it would mean that a working woman would be obliged to do only half the work in the house. So, says Ms. Law, "the effect would be to recognize that part of the housework of women who work full time would be compensated."

It is, as Ms. Law recognizes, "somewhat esoteric" and probably wouldn't actually change most people's lives.

"I do think a part of the problem is that people don't get paid for housework," Ms. Law said. But she adds wryly, "The other part is the housework. For one person to have all the obligation is too heavy a burden. That so many women are working today says something about how women feel about it--they're anxious to get out of the home."

As for herself, Ms. Law is not married and says that "knowing as much as I do about what it really means to get married, it would be difficult to buy into that. But to write a contract is offensive to my egalitarian instinct. Who am I to say 'I am too good for that?'"

"I am in love with a guy who is very sympathetic with all this. But it's still hard to figure out what to do."

COLLATERAL READING IV
(ACTIVITY VI)

ALMOST ALL AGREE: WOMEN MARRYING SHOULD KNOW THEIR RIGHTS*

By Enid Nemy

Almost no one likes alimony, and some of those who feel most strongly on the subject are recipients of it.

"The biggest myth in white middle class divorces is that divorce is heavily loaded in favor of the woman," said a spokesman for the League for Women's Rights. "It just isn't so in the financial sense." The League was organized about four months ago by two women in the process of divorce.

"We thought that what had happened to us was so unbelievable and strange and unreal," said one of the organizers, a woman in her late 30's, who was left with two children and without an income after her husband "walked out and took up with a younger chick."

"There's a whole smokescreen of women in the anti-alimony group who make it appear that women receiving alimony have been married only a few months, have no children and sit and watch television and eat chocolates all day," said Corinne Grad, an active member of the Older Women's League, a post-post college (30 to 50 years of age) group within the women's liberation movement. Miss Grad, who uses her maiden name in her professional activities, is married and the mother of four.

"The majority of women getting a divorce worked hard within the marriage. Many put their husbands through medical and law school," she said. "We must make women realize they are not living within the bounty of a man."

Universal Agreement on One Subject

Although many individuals, groups and organizations have different suggestions on how to deal with financial arrangements after a divorce, there is almost universal agreement on one marriage-related subject.

"Women about to marry should at least be aware of their situation within the law," said a spokesman for the National Organization for Women (NOW). "Many housewives who don't work outside the home are shocked to discover that they are not automatically entitled to half the property."

"We'd like to see a handbook on the legal status of women before, during and after marriage and have it given out to everyone applying for a marriage license," said a representative of the League for Women's Rights. "It would be like a driver's manual and no license would be given without passing a test on whether the book has been read and absorbed."

* *New York Times*, August 10, 1970.

NOW advocates mandatory high school courses in the legal and financial aspects of family living. The same group also approves of a premarital conference with a lawyer.

Varied Solutions to Financial Problems

The proposed solutions to the financial problems usually implicit in the breakup of a marriage are as varied as those offered on any controversial subject. They include:

An equitable share of income during marriage: If only one partner works outside the home, half the income should, by law, belong to the other party. The husband and wife would then make their own arrangements on splitting household expenses.

A defined share of property.

Individual fringe benefits for the wife who stays home, the benefits to apply in and out of the marriage. These would include health, medical and accident insurance, Social Security, pension plans. "You go into marriage the way you go into any job," said one woman. "Women should be able to take such things as Social Security into a marriage and, if divorced, take it out of the marriage. The way it is today, the cleaning woman or maid has, in a way, more financial security than a wife."

Insurance to provide for a lump sum or installment payment on termination of a marriage. "Automobile insurance is mandatory. Why shouldn't this be looked into?" asked one woman fighting for a housewives' bill of rights."

A pension plan where the wife is allotted part of the family income as salary and this is used to buy an annuity or pension payable if the marriage is dissolved.

Mrs. Wilma Soss believes that all financial arrangements should be settled before marriage.

"There should be a marriage contract," she said. "Maybe the couple would find it cheaper to live in sin. Maybe there would be fewer marriages, but that's all right, too."

Mrs. Betty Berry, the Marriage and Family Coordinator of NOW--New York, said she was "tired of hearing" that everyone should be economically productive.

"I like housewives," she said. "Women can be socially useful and contribute just as much that way as by being economically productive. Many voluntary groups are manned by women who do a professional job, and yet there is a growing pinch felt by organizations trying to get volunteers because there is no recognition for that kind of work. There should be income tax credit for volunteer work--time is worth so much an hour.

"Again and again, a woman's time is worth nothing if she doesn't work outside the home. If a marriage is dissolved, work within the home, and for voluntary organizations, count as nothing."

Many women advocate treating divorce in a manner similar to the dissolution of a business partnership.

Putting Love on a Business Basis

"I know we'll be criticized on that one," said an attractive divorcee. "There will be an outcry that you can't put love on a business basis, but believe me, when love flies out of the window, it would be nice to have something left that was rightfully yours, not handed out as though it were charity."

Aside from financial arrangements, many women presently involved in studying proposals for changes in divorce practices and laws advocate such things as subsidization of career training for divorced women, additional funds to assist with child care and housekeeping and divorce centers (staffed by women) to provide legal and psychological help when necessary.

To Florynce Kennedy, a widow and a self-proclaimed "cause-hopper," marriage as presently constituted is analogous to slavery.

"You work, but you don't get paid on any guaranteed, agreed basis," she said. "You are dependent on your husband's largesse. It's like a house nigger who often lived better than the white sharecropper."

"If it's a happy marriage, it's like having a good master. You can have a mink coat and pink chaise longue, but still only with the consent of the master."

One of Mrs. Kennedy's solutions involves paying housewives for their time, based on the state's minimum wage. If the marriage were dissolved, the amount earned would be given the woman as "severance pay." There would be no deduction for upkeep during the marriage.

Viewed as Payment for 'Sexual Privileges'

"Slaves were always clothed and housed and fed," she said. "Anything else, the luxuries the husband may have given the wife, should be considered payment for the sexual privileges enjoyed by the man."

Mrs. Kennedy is also in favor of an insurance system making divorce money readily available. Premiums would be figured actuarially, based on the length of the marriage and the number of children.

"The women's liberation movement could set up an insurance system similar to the lodges black people set up in the South when the insurance companies wouldn't insure them."

A suggested source of funding was, she suggested, "big business-- companies that sell products like cosmetics, soaps, food, drugs, tobacco."

"Women are entitled to reparations from business," she said. "These companies should allocate 10 per cent of their advertising budgets to 'women's institutes' and the institutes in each state would decide on how they wished to spend the money.

"Some of that money might go into alimony pools," Mrs. Kennedy added. "We can live without reruns of television shows and doves flying out of soap."

COLLATERAL READING V.
(ACTIVITY VI)

PENSIONS FOR MOTHERS
PROMISED BY FRANCE*

PARIS (UPI) -- The French mother who spends the best years of her life raising children and caring for her man can look forward to something more than wrinkles and rheumatism at old age. The government has promised retirement pensions for all mothers, whether married or not.

Acknowledging that women who hold no paying jobs but keep family and home together play a key role in French society, the government pledged to reward them in their old days with retirement pensions like those paid to blue or white collar workers.

Health Ministry officials said draft legislation spelling out conditions under which a French mother will receive regular income from the state pension fund will go before parliament for approval at the year's end.

The pensions will be paid only to mothers, whether married or not, who devoted themselves fully to family duties and had no regular money-earning work, officials said.

* *Los Angeles Times*, September 3, 1973.

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COLLATERAL READING VI

(ACTIVITY VI)



ALLIANCE FOR DISPLACED HOMEMAKERS
4223 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609 · 658-8700

USEFUL FACTS FOR ACTION

Who are the Displaced Homemakers?

These are women who have fulfilled a role as a homemaker, who find themselves "displaced" in their middle years, through divorce, widowhood, or other loss of family income. They are ineligible for AFDC if their children are over 18. They are subject to the highest unemployment rate of any sector of the work force. They face discrimination in employment because they are women, older and have no recent paid work experience. They are ineligible for unemployment insurance because they have been engaged in unpaid labor in the home. They are ineligible for Social Security because they are too young. Some will never be eligible because they are divorced and fall through the cracks of the S. S. system. Many lose Medical coverage and are unacceptable for private health insurance plans.

How many are there? Is the problem widespread?

An exact figure is hard to find, because homemakers don't often appear in government statistics. Since their economic contribution is not recognized, and they receive no benefits, their status is officially ignored. But in 1973 there were 1.1 million formerly married women under 60, without minor children, who were not in the labor force. In addition many more of the 6.1 million married women, not working, without minor children, are potentially displaced homemakers. Rough estimates on the number who fit the description are 1 to 3 million.

Why is there such a problem?

The changing status of the family has caught older women unprotected. The divorce rate has doubled between 1960-1973. There has been an increase of 46% in the number of households headed by women in ten years. One fourth of the divorces filed are after more than 15 years of marriage. The trend is toward no-fault dissolution of marriage and spousal support for limited periods, if at all. Increasing number of older women live without men. There are more than four times as many widows as widowers. The older women become, the more likely they are to be on their own.

COLLATERAL READING VII

(ACTIVITY VI)

Aid for Displaced Homemakers

Action is proceeding in both the state and federal legislatures to develop assistance for homemakers displaced from jobs and/or support through death of a spouse, divorce, or loss of support for dependent children.

Called the "Displaced Homemakers Bill" (SB825 - Smith and Marks) on the state level and the "Equal Opportunity for Displaced Homemakers Act," (HR 7003 - Burke) in the U. S. House of Representatives, the legislation's aim is to assist displaced homemakers to become self-sufficient, healthy, and useful.

REP. YVONNE BURKE INTRODUCES BILL TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO DISPLACED HOMEMAKERS *

Rep. YVONNE B. BURKE (D-CA) introduced a bill (H.R. 7003) which will provide assistance to homemakers who have been displaced from a previous family role in which they were dependent on another family member for income. "The displaced homemaker is often left without any source of income," Rep. Burke said. "They are frequently ineligible for social security benefits because they are too young, or because they are divorced from the family wage earner. They are ineligible for Federal assistance if they are not physically disabled and their children are past a certain age. They are ineligible for unemployment insurance because they have been engaged in unpaid labor in the home, while at the same time they are often subject to discrimination in seeking employment because of age, sex and lack of any recent paid work experience." She explained that her bill provides for job counseling, job training, health education counseling, financial management services and education assistance to be administered by the Community Services Administration of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Said Rep. Burke: "The Chase Manhattan Bank estimates that if the strictly household services of a homemaker were paid for they would cost \$8,285 per year; yet there is no unemployment insurance for a homemaker who is 'laid off.' For this reason my bill also calls for a study and a report back to Congress on the feasibility of unemployment compensation for displaced homemakers. It is my belief that such compensation should be made available." She explained that the study is to be conducted by the Director of the Community Services Administration, through coordination with the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of HEW, and a final report is to be submitted not later than one year after enactment of the bill.

On September 27th Governor Brown signed the Displaced Homemakers Bill providing \$200,000 for implementation of the training aspects. The training program in Senator Jerry Smith's bill will be established in Alameda County next year to provide job counseling and training to divorced and widowed women thrown into the job market with few employment skills.

Brown said he approved the pilot project because he is "deeply concerned about the difficulties faced by widows and divorced homemakers set adrift in our uncertain economy."**

* *Women Today*, V (June 22, 1975).

** *San Diego Union*, September 28, 1975, p. A-10.





